

**MARY CARROLL CRAIG BRADFORD:
PROVIDING OPPORTUNITIES TO COLORADO'S WOMEN AND CHILDREN
THROUGH SUFFRAGE AND EDUCATION**

A Dissertation

by

HEATHER KLEINPETER CALDWELL

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

December 2009

Major Subject: Curriculum and Instruction

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ABSTRACT

Mary Carroll Craig Bradford: Providing Opportunities to Colorado's Women and
Children through Suffrage and Education. (December 2009)

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This dissertation is a historical biography on the life, suffrage and educational contributions of Mary Carroll Craig Bradford, a wife, mother, suffragist, teacher and educational administrator in the state of Colorado. The purpose of this dissertation was to find out exactly what Bradford's contributions were to her state. The initial observation was that she was an educator, but after analyzing the data, it was learned that she was so much more. She began as a woman's rights activist and had a part in the Colorado and national suffrage campaigns. Her activism and popular reputation gained her the respect of the Colorado Democratic Party and she was nominated to run for political office.

The research was accomplished by collecting and analyzing many documents. Data was found in the town of Leadville, Colorado, where she first lived and in the archives in Denver, Colorado, where she lived the remainder of her days. Pictures, letters, newspaper clippings, superintendent reports and various other documents were found that gave a perspective on her life.

This dissertation described her journey to becoming an elected official and focused on her roles as a suffrage activist and eventually State Superintendent of Public Instruction. The role of state superintendent is one that is not often written about as noted in this dissertation. Several studies have been done on county or city superintendents, but very few have been done on female state superintendents. This dissertation will make a contribution to this field of research.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to women educators everywhere. Mary C.C. Bradford proved that even in difficult times, a woman could succeed in their career and could make a difference to others. Being an educator is one of the toughest jobs on earth because you hold the fate of young people in your hands. Luckily, for the children of Colorado, Bradford had their fate in her hands and did not falter – she succeeded in making Colorado schools better than they were before she took office and left a legacy of success to was emulated and followed for years to come.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I never realized when I stepped into the office of Dr. Lynn M. Burlbaw that my life would change forever. He sat me down and told me that I could follow my passion for history and intertwine it with my love of education. On that day, as I was searching for an answer to “what will I do with the rest of my life...” I saw a bright and exciting future ahead of me. He told me not only would I get my master’s degree but that he wanted me to also get my doctorate. He told me he would take me to Colorado the following summer to study history and archeology in the coal mines of southern Colorado.

Being a southern girl, the first week in Colorado, when I caught my first glimpse of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains in the distance, I wept at their beauty. As I walked around the remains of a coal town and found small artifacts in the soil, I began to appreciate the history of people like never before. I am so eternally grateful to Dr. Burlbaw for giving me the opportunity to touch history and to help me find a career that would allow me to study and write about the history of education for the rest of my life. I found, with his help, Mary C.C. Bradford and fell in love with all that this woman stood for – dedicating her life to improving the lives of children.

This dissertation would not be possible without the support of my committee. Dr. Burlbaw, as my chair, has lent me unbending support and mentorship over the last 5 years. I always felt valued when I would call upon him for advice. He always made time for me. On my committee is Dr. Larry Kelly, another mentor but most of all a light

hearted soul who always keeps life in perspective and makes you feel like you are capable and doing the right thing. I chose Dr. Virginia Collier to be on my committee because she is a woman who had once been a superintendent of schools and I felt like she would understand the steps that Bradford had taken and could guide me since Bradford was long gone and could not speak for herself. Finally, on my committee I chose Dr. Sylvia Hoffert, because she is someone who knows the field of women's history and would challenge me to give it depth. I hope to be like her one day, a successful writer and historian.

I could not have gotten to this point in my education without a few good friends who all took the same journey that I did. First, to Dr. Mindy Spearman and Dr. Linda Black, we bonded that summer in Colorado and I learned so much from the both of you over the years. Thank you for your friendship and mentorship. To my friends, colleagues and coworkers, Kathleen Speed, Bari Brookins, Bill Donovan, Angie Hairrell, you have been there for me, like family during this process, and I don't know what I would do without you.

Finally, none of this was possible, my education, this dissertation, my life, without my family. Mom, you as a single mother with two girls gave us every ounce of your being and made us into strong women. I love you and strive to be half as good a mother as you were to me. Dad, you were relentless in pushing me to get an education, and I am certainly glad that you did. Not getting an education was never an option for me, and luckily I fell in love with college and never wanted to leave, hence getting this degree. Thank you for your persistence, I love you. To my little sister, Schuyler, I am so

proud of the woman that you are and know that you will make your dreams come true. I am always here for you, I love you.

Last but not least, I have to acknowledge the three people who make me breathe every day. David, my husband, my soul mate, you are the best man in the world. Your laughter and warm spirit is amazing, but your ability to love me, despite all my faults and support me throughout all my crazy decisions has been such a gift. I know you do not always think so, but you have always given me the wings to fly and were there to catch me when I fell. I have grown and become a better person because of you. You are an amazing father and together we have raised the most amazing two beings on this earth. My beautiful Cassidy, you are our first child and I will always cherish every moment with you – you make me so proud to see that you are a sweet and loving person. My precious Cody, you are such a joy. You make me laugh every day and your sweet nature and gentle soul are such good qualities in a man. I am so proud of you.

I know there are many people I have not listed aunts, uncles, step-parents, friends, coworkers, etc. but please know that I could not be here today without every single one of you. Each and every day I am thankful that I am allowed to wake up every morning. I am truly blessed.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

On November 16, 1933, the family of Mary Carroll Craig Bradford, state officials from Colorado and representatives from the National Education Association gathered on the Capital grounds in Denver, Colorado, to dedicate a 40 year old willow tree honoring a beloved daughter of Colorado. Daughter, wife, mother, teacher, political activist, school administrator, national and international educational spokeswoman, Mary Carroll Craig Bradford influenced the lives of many citizens in Colorado for 60 years. Today, Bradford's commemorative tree no longer stands, just as she too has passed from this earth, but her legacy can still be felt throughout the entire state.

Who was this woman and why did she receive a commemorative tree along with many other accolades over the years? What did she do that touched the lives of so many in Colorado and what legacy did she leave to this state? These questions and more were the reason this dissertation was written. She lived a long life, dedicated to serving the people in order to make their lives better and provide new opportunities for many. She lived during a progressive time in the United States and she exemplified the meaning of the "New Woman," women who reinvented their traditional roles and were more active in their homes and communities. Bradford went beyond the home and community, her influence reaching across the state and even across the nation. This dissertation outlines this journey.

This dissertation follows the style of *American Education History Journal*.

When a person dies, an obituary is written to outline their life and share their accomplishments with the world. Usually, one brief obituary might be written in a local paper, but this was not the case with Bradford. Numerous obituaries and tributes were published. There were articles written in Denver, other Colorado towns and in newspapers across the nation. Why was so much attention given to the death of one woman, unless her impact was felt by many? One headline in the *Rocky Mountain News* (January 16, 1938) was titled, “Mrs. Mary C. Bradford Dies, National Suffrage Leader,” and another headline in the *Denver Post* (January 15, 1938) was titled, “Mary C.C. Bradford, Noted Educator Dies.” These two titles accurately describe her two most important roles, national suffrage leader and noted educator. She accomplished many things in her life but her greatest achievements were through her work in suffrage and education, both allowing her to make changes for women and children that would improve their lives and provide new opportunities.

As a Colorado woman’s club member, women’s rights activist, suffragist and educator, Bradford had the opportunity to meet and work with many other women to decide what changes were needed to improve the quality of their lives. Their efforts were not in vain as together they reached more women and were able to convince men and women to support women’s suffrage, seeing a Colorado suffrage victory in 1893. This victory allowed new changes to be made in legislation that improved the quality of life for and provided new opportunities to all citizens. This dissertation discussed these changes.

As a teacher, city and county superintendent and eventually state superintendent, Bradford had the knowledge and eventually the power to make progressive changes in education. She believed education was the best way to improve citizenship and, through her efforts, she continued major programs started by her predecessors and began new initiatives that took the state educational system forward. Her accomplishments were noticed by those in her state but also nationally and worldwide as she was called upon to serve in different capacities to share her wisdom and knowledge of education. This dissertation will discuss these actions.

Bradford's active involvement and sense of civic responsibility is not surprising as she hailed from a family of public servants. She was born in Brooklyn, New York, August 10, 1856, to James B. Craig and Anna Turk Carroll Craig, a local lawyer and politician and a mother who was active in local philanthropic activities. Her family entertained in their home and traveled to Europe during Bradford's youth. With both a public and private education, she received a Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Paris. She married Edward Taylor Bradford, a Lieutenant in the U.S. Navy, in 1876 and gave birth to four children, one of whom died as an infant.

Two years after her marriage, in 1878, the Bradfords relocated to Leadville, Colorado, to invest in the marble and silver-mining industry. Here she took her first job in education as a school teacher. A decline in the silver-mining industry forced the Bradfords to leave Leadville and they moved to Colorado Springs and eventually to Denver where she continued teaching, was a superintendent for Adams County in 1902

and later was superintendent in Denver in 1909, and finally was elected to the office of state superintendent in 1913. She left office in 1927 and died eleven years later in 1938.

Although probably best known for her role as State Superintendent, where she served six terms beginning in 1913, her role as a public servant started much earlier. She followed in the steps of her ancestors. Her mother, who was active in philanthropic causes in New York, was a direct descendant of Charles Carroll, signer of the United States Declaration of Independence. Her uncle was a prominent church minister and her father was a prominent lawyer and politician in Brooklyn, New York. Her local hometown newspaper the *Brooklyn Eagle*, on December 28, 1902, ran an article about her entitled, "Former Brooklyn Society Woman a Leading Colorado Politician." The article compared Bradford's impact on Colorado with her father's impact in New York, "How he (her father) would have smiled at the possibility of his daughter's being a political leader, and of her sex cutting any political ice."

Her family's legacies of public service, her religious faith, the progressive movement in the country and the changing roles of women at this time, were all catalysts for Bradford's activism. She exemplified the meaning of the term "The New Woman" which describes the change in women's roles from a more traditional role of wife and stay at home mother during the Victorian Era to the new role of women leaving the home during the day and evenings to work, socialize and fight for political causes. Woloch describes this woman as one who "plunges into larger life" and transforms herself into a "public figure of national repute, admired and emulated" (2000, 275).

Bradford did “plunge herself” into an active and public life and eventually was a “public figure of national repute.” Her continued presence in her communities and in the public arena, led her to various positions of importance over the years, including her founding of the Colorado Women’s Democratic Club. This club fought for the cause of women’s suffrage and helped unify the Democratic Party in Colorado. With increased participation and organization, this group brought together a divided party and helped to unify it as one, stronger political party. Colorado was a politically progressive state and women in Colorado saw an equal rights victory much sooner than the rest of the country. Bradford was a part of these activities, canvassing the state on behalf of her party, speaking to men and women. She worked tirelessly speaking on behalf of women’s suffrage, eventually seeing a victory. States such as Wyoming, where woman gained state suffrage at statehood in 1869, and then Colorado fourteen years later, provided an example other states would eventually follow (Burlbaw, Caldwell, Castillo, & Merricks 2006).

Colorado was one of only four states where women gained suffrage in the West, much earlier than the rest of the country in 1920. These western states were watched closely by other states to see if their suffrage was a success. Gray wrote this about early suffrage in one of these western states, Wyoming: “What was particularly notable about this historic event was that it seemed to have happened in the wrong place and at the wrong time and for reasons that were not at all clear to those most concerned – the suffrage leaders in the East who had been laboring for thirty years unsuccessfully to get the vote for women” (1976, p.75). The early suffrage victory in Colorado and

Bradford's role in its success as well as her involvement in various women's organizations is an important part of the story because this work laid the foundation for her statewide involvement in politics and education. These roles provided her with the ability to help make changes in the lives of Colorado citizens and through these changes new opportunities that improved the quality of life for many. This is the main objective of this dissertation, to discuss Bradford's role and the changes that were put into place because of her participation.

Why is this biography needed? Many women made progress before and after the turn of the 20th Century and contributed to the suffrage movement and education in their states. Bradford is an example of one of these women and her story, although not necessarily original, is special to the state of Colorado. She, along with other Colorado women, made progress in their state and were each a part of the whole story. This dissertation is an attempt to tell one part of this story and to highlight the achievements of one woman.

It was impossible to tell Bradford's story of her success without describing the different events in her life and the many titles that she carried. As a teacher, lecturer, school administrator, club woman, political activist, etc, each of these roles prepared her for the next role. People began to know her and she was asked by leaders to share her experiences and orator skills to speak to others on behalf of numerous causes. Bradford was not an ordinary citizen but a well known and respected public figure. She was a politician and an advocate for women and children throughout her life. Her story deserves to be told.

A few brief biographical entries on Bradford have been included in larger works over the years, including one written in 1918 by Stone entitled, “The History of Colorado,” a tribute by the Delta Kappa Gamma Society in 1940, and most recently, a brief biography of Bradford to the bibliographical sourcebook, “Women Educators in the United States, 1820-1993” (Getz, 1994). Numerous newspaper and magazine articles paid tribute to Bradford over the past century but a comprehensive recounting and analysis of her life and contributions has not yet been written.

Very few works have been done on female State Superintendents of Public Instruction. Two books, one on Permeal French of Idaho (D'Easum, 1981), elected in 1898, and one about Annie Webb Blanton (Cottrell, 1993), first woman elected into statewide office in Texas in 1918 has been written. Another book by Jackie M. Blount (1998) reported on a study of district superintendents from 1873-1995. Dissertations on female state superintendents have been written on Annie Webb Blanton (Scott, 1992), Josephine Corliss Preston of Washington (Rude, 1985), and Agnes Samuelson of Iowa (Vitiello, 1984). The life story of Ella Flagg Young, city superintendent of Chicago, Illinois, has received attention over the years with several dissertations and books (McManis 1916; Butler 1917; Reim 1940; Fenner & Fishburn 1945; Donatelli 1971; Smith 1979; Goddard 2005). Dissertations on male superintendents include biographies of men from Virginia, Pennsylvania, Florida, North Carolina, Washington and Texas (Shufflebarger 1975; Anderson 1984; Hawkins 1987; Banks 1989; Reynolds 1989; Mazon 1992; Winters 1995). Therefore, this study contributes to the field of published

biographies of female state superintendents and is the first written on a Colorado state superintendent.

Along with contributing to the limited number of studies on female state superintendents, authors have written little on the women educational leaders during the progressive period in our country. Bradford lived and worked during the Progressive Era and authors Sadovnik and Semel agree that literature is lacking in this area, “Although much has been written about progressive education, there has been little codified in the literature on the contributions of women leaders to this movement” (2002, 79). This study will not specifically address the Progressive Era, but Bradford’s work and career took place during the major progressive transformation of the United States. Her work contributed to this progression, especially by moving Colorado schools forward, providing new opportunities for the children of Colorado.

Bradford’s work in suffrage and education before and after the turn of the 20th Century was during a period of progressive growth in the country. Her efforts are important to this dissertation because they explain the changes that were being made by women to improve the quality of life for themselves and for their children. Each role that Bradford had in her public life and in her career in education, led to the next role, enabling her to increasingly make progress and changes throughout her career. Those who read this study will learn how a woman took issues that mattered to her, such as suffrage, the rights of women and children, and education; based in the time she was living, and used her gifts as an activist and educator to make change for the betterment

of life for the women and children in Colorado, the West, and the rest of the United States.

What the author has learned and portrays is that Bradford came from the Northeast and relocated to Colorado. Despite its rough terrain and severe weather conditions, people living in Colorado and other Western states worked hard to build their states into strong, independent, and progressive places to live. Bradford found a state which needed her leadership and a state where the men were not afraid to let women participate in leadership. Colorado men granted women the right to vote more than twenty five years before the rest of the country, allowing women in Colorado, including Bradford, to have a role in shaping their future through the ballot. If Bradford had stayed in New York, she may have continued to shine in politics but would her legacy have been as vital and as strong as it was in Colorado? We will never know the answer to that question, but fortunately for Colorado, Bradford did find her way to the West, settled, and stayed until her death, warranting deep appreciation and admiration from her fellow citizens.

Throughout this research, the author has gained a deep appreciation and admiration for Bradford. She first discovered her several years ago, the author stumbling upon her name in many articles written about Colorado. Who was this woman and why was she so important? The author wanted to find out more and having never written a biography was not sure if she was a good subject. Cook wrote and said about biographers, “We seek to understand change and process through individual lives and how they are lived. We believe in the influence and impact of the individual on the

political, economic, and social forces of society. We feel profound chemical and emotional connections to our chosen subject. We may not always like everything our subject did or agree with every decision, but there is no reason for selection unless there is a quest for real understanding” (1998, 79). Based on Cook’s criteria for writing the biography, the author of this dissertation chose the right subject. An emotional connection was felt for Bradford from the beginning, as a mother and educator, wondering how she was so successful so long ago when women did not have the rights or respect that we have today. This dissertation delves deeper into the life of Mary C.C. Bradford and discovers how she was able to accomplish all that she did.

Research Questions

Bradford’s work in politics and education were evident throughout her life but this study is guided by one major question that defines the objective of this research:

How did the study of Bradford increase/illuminate our understanding of a western woman’s accomplishments and contributions to the betterment of lives for women and children in Colorado through her work in suffrage and education?

Several sub-questions were included which will provide a focus on different areas of her life:

- Who was Mary Carroll Craig Bradford?
- How did her life shape her career and her career shape her life?
- What did she contribute to the suffrage movement?
- What did she contribute to education?

- How did these contributions in suffrage and education lead to better opportunities for all in Colorado?
- What was Bradford's legacy to the state of Colorado and the nation?

Definition of Terms

Bradford was elected to the position of Colorado State Superintendent of Public Instruction in 1913. This position and title remained in effect until 1951 when the position switched from elected to appointed. The appointed position was titled Commissioner of Education. States in the United States do not have a consistent name for this position and title and states have changed the name over the years. In this dissertation, State Superintendent of Public Instruction or simply, state superintendent was used because that was Bradford's title for her entire tenure.

Data and Research

The data used for this study comes from a variety of sources. Both historical and modern sources have been collected from different places. Some of have been accessible from the internet, including databases that provide resources in original form. The American Periodical Series, a search engine that finds historical articles and periodicals was very useful to this study because it has provided articles that discuss suffrage, education, and Bradford's personal life. There were editorials and articles written during this period by people who were useful in gathering the feeling of the country and people in that time period.

Primarily, the State Superintendent Reports from the six-terms held by Bradford are of the most use in developing and understanding her role as an educational leader. These reports included a statement by the State Superintendent detailing the progress of the educational system in Colorado in various areas; for example, Professionalism, State Institutions, County and District Superintendents, and The State School. She wrote a personal letter in every report to the Colorado Governor. The reports included the salaries of top officials and census/attendance numbers in each county which show growth and change within the department and within the schools. These reports also included updates on the state library, state universities, and census and state statistics regarding the number of children in the schools and then more detailed information on each of the counties in Colorado – including the number of buildings, and the number of centralized and consolidated schools. Another important aspect of these reports is that they give us an insight into Bradford's political agenda. Bradford saw as her job the need to make changes, to convince the governor, the state board of education and the legislature to vote for and approve changes that she wanted made. That is why each report had a letter to the governor and a list of items she wanted approved by those with the power to do so. She was nominated to this position by the Democratic Party and her work was not only for the good of the children but also to help change schools and pass legislation that addressed the needs of her Party.

A detailed resource for school culture and management in the state of Colorado is the State Superintendent Reports, published bi-annually by the State Superintendent of Public Instruction. Other sources include the day books and calendars of Mary C.C.

Bradford. The daybooks and calendars were researched and copied in the state archives located in Denver, Colorado. The biennial superintendent reports give us a better example of the day to day operations of the schools of Colorado and the thoughts and processes felt and delivered by its educational leaders.

Other sources for this study, articles from the *Colorado School Journal* and other historical periodicals, such as *Outlook* and *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine*, give more insight into the actual daily activities in the schools of Colorado. *Outlook* was a religious publication that was first edited by Henry Ward Beecher. Published weekly from 1870-1932, it then changed to monthly distribution. Originally it was used to send out Sermons, Sunday School lessons and fiction but later included current events, autobiographies, travel information and literary and art criticism. *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine*, similar to *Outlook*, published art and literary criticism, travel articles and also book reviews. It was edited in Philadelphia and published from 1886-1915. During her tenure as Colorado State Superintendent of Public Instruction and as President of the National Education Association her publications addressed education and include, *Some Adjustments that Might Secure Closer Integration* (1915a), *A Book of Holidays: 1915-1916* (1915b), *A Course of Study for the Public Schools of Colorado* (1916b), *The Public School and the Nation* (1917a), *Some Phases of the Rural-School Problem* (1917b), and *A War-modified Course of Study for the Public Schools of Colorado* (1918a).

Although the internet and libraries provide a fair amount of information on Bradford, a trip to the state in which she lived was necessary. The Colorado State

Archives, the Colorado Historical Society, and the Denver Public Library are places that house information on Bradford. Daily letters, press books, and statewide newspaper articles from the *Rocky Mountain News* and the *Denver Post* describing her work and contributions were researched. Newspapers that made mention of Bradford, from other states were also researched including, *The Salt Lake Herald* (UT), *The San Francisco Call* (CA), *The Ocala Banner* (Marian County, FL), *Breckenridge News* (Cloverport, KY), *Deseret Evening News*, (Salt Lake City, UT), *The Washington Bee* (Washington D.C.), and *The Times Dispatch* (Richmond, VA).

As a historical biography, Bradford's personal publications and primary resources were beneficial in writing this dissertation. The researcher looked for information regarding different aspects of her life. Once collected, the documents were separated into three categories: her personal life, her role as an educator, and her role as a political activist/suffragist. These items were organized and placed in chronological order by date. By doing this, the material was clearly seen and easily accessible by looking at it by theme and by date. Her political involvement was a large part of her life and it was this involvement that was the catalyst for her public acceptance and eventual election to the office of state superintendent. From the data collected, the common theme was the many new opportunities that evolved for the women and children of Colorado because of Bradford's actions. This is the reason that this dissertation is written, to discover the roles that she had and how through her efforts, she had an impact on the lives of the women and children of Colorado.

Limitation

This study is limited by the limited number of sources available. Bradford died in 1938 and all documents were published in her lifetime or after her death in honor of her life. Primary resources including newspaper and journal articles, her personal publications, real estate and county documents. A few secondary sources have been used, basically brief biographies of Bradford's life that help to validate the information found for this study and also provide information that had not been found in this research that led the researcher to search for more facts on the particular subject. Educational and government records were used, including the Colorado State Superintendent Reports and U.S. Census records.

Organization of Research

The most logical way to organize this study is chronologically. Her years in New York as the daughter of a prominent attorney, followed by a grand wedding and then a move to the West were all life events that built the character of this woman. Once in Colorado she made strides in the political and educational arenas. Each of her roles tells different sides to her story but logistically they seem a natural progression in her career and life's path. The study was organized in the following manner:

- I. Introduction
- II. Bradford & Her Family: A Brief Biography
- III. Opportunities through Suffrage
- IV. Opportunities through Education
- V. Bradford's Legacy

Appendices of her publications, pictures, and a timeline of her life, are included at the end of this study. There is a complete bibliography of her published writings and archival collections in which information on Bradford was found.

Research Design

This dissertation was written by using the qualitative research design. This method, defined by Gall, Borg, and Gall as,

Inquiry that is grounded in the assumption that individuals construct social reality in the form of meanings and interpretations, and that these constructions tend to be transitory and situational. The dominant methodology is to discover the meanings and interpretations by studying cases intensively in natural setting and by subjecting the resulting data to analytic deduction (1996, 767).

This method is appropriate for this dissertation because the research included an extensive search for data that was analyzed and sorted to understand the events in Bradford's life that led to her successes in suffrage and education.

Throughout the research, each event of Bradford's life is placed in the proper political or social context, an important component of qualitative research (Glesne, 2006). This study dealt with events from the past and is more appropriately called historical research, defined as, "a process of systematically searching for data to answer questions about a past phenomenon for the purpose of gaining a better understanding of present institutions, practices, trends, and issues in education" (Gall, Borg & Gall, 1996, 644). This study searched for the data in order to place the events of Bradford's life into a chronological timeline that explained her life story. From this account, a better appreciation of women in politics and education was gained and the reader can understand what one woman, with the help of many others, accomplished to improve the

quality of life and provided new opportunities to the citizens of the state of Colorado.

Bradford lived in Colorado and the data in this dissertation primarily came from this state. Armitage and Jameson recognized the fact that researching western women is an important task and that the documents involving their history were not always easy to find:

We need to approach western women's history, not through the filters of prescriptive literature or concepts of frontier liberation and oppression, but through the experiences of the people who lived the history. The documents are hard to find, and until recently historians have not looked for them (1987, p. 161).

Yes, the documents were not always readily available, but searching for them in the archives is crucial to understanding the experiences that Bradford lived.

The sources studied gave an accurate account of where she was and what she did at specific times. Taking that information and filling in the spaces of her actual activities was the objective of this project. One issue with qualitative research deals with the ability to verify research, making it trustworthy. Do we accept that something is true simply because it is printed and if we reprint it will our reader believe it is true? One way to avoid this is through triangulation, a process of using multiple-data collection methods, data sources, analysts or theories to check the validity of the research (Gall, Borg & Gall, 1996, 574). By doing this one eliminates biases that might result from relying on just one source and “ensure that the study will was accurate because the information draws on multiple sources of information” (Creswell, 2005, 252).

Data Collection

Bradford's primary data is in Colorado and the researcher is from out of state, data was collected using two different methods. The first is by using methods readily available from Texas. A search of online resources provides numerous types of data available. Bradford's publications, including her state superintendent reports were delivered to this university through interlibrary loan. Other data, such as historical articles from magazines and journals were found online. The other method used was a trip to Leadville and Denver, Colorado. Bradford started and ended her educational career in these two cities respectively. All documents found were photocopied, if permitted, and if not, notes were handwritten.

Conclusion

As a historical biography, this dissertation must meet and follow the guidelines that represent this research method. Through thorough analysis and accurate interpretation this story was told and will contribute to the lack of writings on female state superintendents and female progressive leaders. Bradford represents an example of these women as she was elected six times by the people of the state of Colorado to represent the highest educational position in the state and through her efforts in suffrage and education she was a part of major change. The people's confidence in her was made known with the ballot and my confidence in her was made through this study. A complete timeline of Bradford's life can be found in Appendix C.

CHAPTER II

BRADFORD AND HER FAMILY: A BRIEF BIOGRAPHY

Introduction

The quest for knowledge when writing a biography must begin somewhere. The most logical path to writing about the life of Mary C.C. Bradford is to begin at the beginning of her life. This chapter will discuss her journey from her home state of New York to her new state of Colorado and will give a brief biography of her and her family.

Her Parents

On Sunday, August 10, 1856, James B. Craig and Anna Turk Carroll Craig welcomed their daughter to the world. This date is contradicted by different sources. Some report 1856 while others report 1862. Getz, who published a short biography of Bradford in 1994 acknowledged this discrepancy in historical documents. She noted Livermore & Willard (1893) published the 1856 birth date and other sources, including Ohles (1978) published the later 1862 birth date. She wrote, “Her husband’s obituaries (*Denver Times*, December 26, 1901; *Denver Republican*, December 26, 1901) indicate the couple was married in 1876, which gave credibility to the earlier birth” (1994, 62).

Even turning to government documents, the U.S. Census provides no resolution to the question. The 1870 U.S. Census lists her age as 13, the 1900 census as 43, the 1910 as 48 (which should be 53), the 1920 census as 60 (which should be 63), and the 1930 census as 73, consistent with her being born in 1856 (US Census Bureau, 1870-1920). This information is relevant because it shows that different sources used in this research list the varying birth dates but this could be explained, depending on what

source the author used to write the article. They may have used the census records or possibly secondary sources that had varying dates, depending on their research. This information is in this dissertation, to show the confusion, caused by the inaccuracy of the census data.

Bradford, see two pictures of her in Appendix B, was born into a family of wealth and history. Her father, James Barnes Craig was a “well-regarded” and “well-known” attorney in New York (Stone, 1918; Getz, 1994). He was born in Lexington, Kentucky, left his home state at the age of 17 and began a prosperous career of law in New York City (Stone, 1918). He was called a “capitalist,” practiced international law and sources report he practiced with two different law firms, Sidney, Hamilton & Craig and the “once celebrated” firm of Webster & Craig (Stone, 1918; *Colorado School Journal*, 1894). He was the Judge Advocate General of the City of New York on January 1, 1871, hence the title of “General” found in this research (State of New York, 1871). He left New York in 1878, with his wife and the Bradfords and moved to Leadville, Colorado to seek his fortune in mining.

Craig was well known in Brooklyn and his character was admired by those who knew him as seen in an article published upon his death 1879. The *Brooklyn Eagle* article (November 2, 1879), included stories from people who knew him. They recalled fond memories about his love of horses, one said, “General Craig must have owned twenty horses. He had them quartered in various places, and rarely drove any of them himself.” Another said, “General Craig was the most generous of men. It may be truly said of him that he didn’t seem to know the value of money. It’s a pity he didn’t have an

income of a million dollars a year, for he would have spent it like a prince and would have done good deeds with it too.” His wealth was not reported in this article but one person said that General Craig spent approximately \$40,000 on a trip with his family to Europe. Regardless, this newspaper showed a person in the community perceiving Craig to have considerable wealth. Scobey wrote about salaries in New York at this time, “During the 1860’s, when \$750 constituted a good annual income for a wage-earning household – and \$3,000 an ample white-collar salary” (2002, 34). This statement gives credence to the belief that Craig had substantial wealth. If he spent \$40,000 on a trip to Europe, this amount would far exceed the annual salary of a white-collar worker.

Craig was known for his political work. The previous article gave evidence of Craig’s political activities, reporting that one person said, “I remember him as the central figure of one of the stormiest Democratic conventions I ever attended” and another said,

A year or two ago the General seemed quite anxious to go to Congress...I remember him telling me why he wanted to go to Washington. He had, he said, been living so long in one place in Brooklyn and had entertained so much that the place began to look like a hotel and he wanted to have the advantage of hotel life and secure a respite from the troubles of housekeeping for Mrs. Craig (*Brooklyn Eagle*, November 2, 1879).

Someone interviewed gave testament to his moral character, “I want to say of him, too, that he was as free from vulgar vices as any man I ever knew” (1879).

Her father, James B. Craig, continued to have a home in Brooklyn and visited New York often before his death. The year before he died, he filed for bankruptcy as reported in the *New York Times* on June 7, 1878,

A voluntary petition in bankruptcy by Gen. James B. Craig has been referred to Register Allen. Gen. Craig is a prominent lawyer and a leading Democratic politician in Kings County. He has lived in excellent style in No. 7 Montague-

terrace, Brooklyn, and was supposed to be wealthy. His indebtedness which amounts to \$46,500 is distributed among 84 creditors, only one being secured, and the majority of them tradesmen. The Dime Savings Bank, of Brooklyn, has a claim for \$20,000, secured by mortgage on No. 7 Montague-terrace and No. 21 Willow Place. The City of Brooklyn has a claim for taxes and assessments amounting to \$1,200. Among the creditors was L. Hentenain, of Paris, \$7,000; Hugh D. Hoagland, \$1,200.... The assets are nominally valued at \$54,536, consisting of real estate, No. 7 Montague-terrace, \$34,000 mortgaged for \$20,000; promissory notes, \$19,511, horses, & c. [sic], \$1,025. He also had four life insurance policies for \$40,000.

He visited Brooklyn in November of 1878, months after he filed for bankruptcy as reported in the local newspaper,

General James B. Craig has recently arrived in Brooklyn from Colorado. He was accompanied by Mrs. Craig. The General is looking well, and is enthusiastic over the prospects of the great central State into which he has cast his fortunes. He will probably remain in Brooklyn some months” (*Brooklyn Eagle*, November 19, 1878).

His misfortune would have been surprising to those who knew him as one stated after his death, “He must have made in his time three or four ample fortunes, and such was his luck that I fully expected to hear that he was in a fair way of becoming one of the silver kings of Colorado” (*Brooklyn Eagle*, November 2, 1879). With the bankruptcy, Craig dissolved his assets in New York, but later, according to court records dated throughout the 1880’s, Bradford and her mother also had to sell her father’s assets to pay off debts owed in Colorado (Lake County, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1883, & 1889).

Not in the public eye as much as her husband, Anna Turk Carroll Craig, born in 1832, a direct descendant of Charles Carroll of the Virginia Carrolls, signer of the Declaration of Independence, died in 1883 (Stone, 1918; Getz, 1994). Her obituary (*Brooklyn Eagle*, February 11, 1883), lists her as dying on February 4, 1883, in Leadville, Colorado, where she moved with her husband in 1878. The obituary said she

had a “generous reputation” and was “prominent in social circles, and, through her bright intellect, ardent temperament and generous feelings, was the means of forwarding many Brooklyn charities and philanthropic institutions.” The obituary mentioned her involvement with the “Brooklyn Orphan Asylum” and the “Home of the Friendless.” Also reported was Anna’s father, “at one time a prominent clergyman of the Presbyterian Church in this city, and her only brother, Rev. J. Halsted Carroll, D.D., who was equally known in Brooklyn” (1883). Stone notes that Anna’s maternal grandmother “was born on the site of the present post office in New York city, a property that was owned by the great-grandmother” (1918, 783). Today, the site of Bradford’s great-grandmother is in a prominent section of New York City, located in Manhattan, across from Pennsylvania Station and Madison Square Garden. The Craigs also had a son, Joseph C. Craig, who was born in 1859 and died in 1885, leaving behind a widow, Anna Hill Craig.

Mary Carroll Craig (Bradford)

Bradford grew up in the social circles of Brooklyn and New York City and was educated locally. Sources offer various details on Bradford’s schooling. Some say she received an early education from private tutors and governesses (Livermore & Willard, 1893; Delta Kappa Gamma, 1940 & 1967; Getz, 1994), others say she attended the public school system, as well as, private institutions, eventually earning a bachelor’s degree from the University of Paris (Stone, 1918; Ohles, 1978) and one source said she earned her education in Paris, Italy, & Germany, not indicating when this occurred (*Colorado School Journal*, 1894). In 1918, *Educational Foundations*, a monthly

magazine from New York City, published a small informational article on Bradford, their newest editorial contributor. The article described her education, “Her education was received at the Packer Collegiate Institute and under private tutelage of members of the faculty of Columbia College and of the University of Paris” (77). The Packer Collegiate Institute was a prominent school for girls in the second half of the nineteenth century. The school was and still is located in Brooklyn, New York. Today it operates as a coed, K-12 school.

Bradford spoke several languages, including French and German, and had a deep passion for the written word (*Colorado School Journal*, 1894). Livermore and Willard, in their chapter on Bradford on *Women of the Century*, reported that Bradford wrote and was published for the first time at the age of 12 in a short story and later wrote for various publications including, *The Brooklyn Eagle*, *The Times Picayune*, *The Esoteric*, the *Commonwealth*, the *Rocky Mountain News*, the *Christian Union*, and *The Philadelphia Progress* (Livermore & Willard, 1893; *Colorado School Journal*, 1894).

Her Husband

On January 26, 1876, at the age of 19, Mary Carroll Craig, became Mary Carroll Craig Bradford with her marriage to U.S. Navy Lieutenant Edward Taylor Bradford, born December 2, 1848 and a descendant of Governor William Bradford of Massachusetts. His father, John Oliver Bradford, served as the Paymaster General of the U.S. Navy and Edward followed in his father’s military footsteps by graduating from the United States Naval Academy in Annapolis in 1869 and then serving as an aide on Admiral Farragut’s flagship, the USS Hartford (*Rocky Mountain News*, December 26,

1901; Getz, 1994). Edward's maternal grandfather, Edward Thompson Taylor, a famous Boston preacher, was called "Father Taylor" and the "seaman's chaplain" and a book was written about his life in 1906 (Collyer, 1906).

The wedding was extensively written about in the *Brooklyn Eagle* on January 27, 1876. Called "The most brilliant affair of the season," took place at The Church of the Pilgrims in Brooklyn, a Protestant, Congregational church, whose first pastor was Henry Ward Beecher. Her uncle, The Rev. J. Halsted Carroll, D.D., presided over the ceremony which included friends, family and "The fashionable people of the city." A reporter described the event, "Arrangements within the church were simple and admirable and no decorations of any kind were seen, and the altar was unadorned." Police controlled the crowds outside and opened the way for the arriving carriages. The event caused such a stir that the reporter wrote, "Getting into the church at all was the work of infinite labor and effort and there was pushing and crowding and jostling and elbowing such as is rarely seen on an occasion of this kind." Even with the people and excitement, the reporter said, "The crowd was a good natured one, composed only of the invited guests or the bridal party, and although there was much hurried scrambling and crowding for sitting and even standing room, there was only pleasantness exhibited everywhere" (1876).

After the wedding, the couple remained in Brooklyn for two years before moving to Colorado where they started a family. They eventually had four children, two sons, Craig (1885-1936) and Edward (birth unknown and died young) and two daughters, Adele (1880-1965) and Florence (1886-1912). In 1878, Bradford and her parents

convinced Edward to resign from the Navy and relocate to Leadville, Colorado, to invest in the mining business. Two sources state they went to Colorado for the marble business (Stone, 1918; Ohles, 1978), another source claimed the move was based on a “mining venture” without mentioning which type (Getz, 1994).

In 1878, Leadville was known for its silver mines,

Leadville’s great silver boom began in the summer and autumn of 1877, when its population was scarcely two hundred and its business directory listed one general store and two saloons. The silver bonanzas generated enormous immigration, as thousands of men rushed to reach the highest incorporated town in the country. By 1880, Leadville had almost fifteen thousand people and was the second-largest city of Colorado (Rohrbough, 1986, 13-14).

When the Bradfords arrived in 1878, Leadville was just becoming an incorporated city (Dorset, 1994). Major growth and building occurred over the next years and by 1890 the population was around 60,000. The fate of the silver-mining industry changed over the years due to demand for silver. The U.S. government, from the beginning, made its money using bimetallic coins. They used 1/16 ounces of silver to 1 ounce of gold. During the second half of the 1800’s, silver was more valuable and the mining industry found it could sell its silver for more money to private industry than to the government. In 1873 the government stopped coining in silver and Colorado’s mines felt the effects as the price of silver dramatically dropped.

Public pressure eventually led the government to partially reinstate silver in their coins and for a time the silver-mining industry felt some relief. In the early 1880’s the price of silver fluctuated depending on the current administration. Democratic President Grover Cleveland, elected in 1885, supported the anti-silver debate and believed that, “power was being eroded by the free-coining, cart-wheeling western silver magnates”

(Dorset, 1970, 337). At the time California, Nevada and Colorado produced more than 75% of the nation's silver and this silver dilemma caused concern for these states because their economies depended on this industry. The Colorado Silver Alliance was formed in 1885 and a national silver convention was held in St. Louis in 1889 in which all parties came together to discuss the issue (1970, 337).

In 1888, Republican President Benjamin Harrison took office and silver was once again a controversial issue. The western states demanded that the government aid their silver industry or else they would not help support Representative William S. McKinley's tariff bill. Senator John Sherman came up with a solution to help both sides by creating the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890 which guaranteed that the U.S. government would buy 4.5 million ounces of silver a month. Western states celebrated for a short time, but when the price of silver resumed its decline, the silver debate continued in Washington (Dorset, 1970).

Despite the tumultuous nature of the silver mining industry, for thirteen years, the Bradford family lived in Leadville and tried to make their fortune in this business. While in Leadville, they moved several times as the city directories show the Bradfords living at different addresses. In 1883 they lived on Harrison Avenue, the main street in Leadville. First, at the Clarendon Hotel, located next door to the Elks Opera House and in 1884 they lived at 425 Harrison Avenue. In 1885 they lived at 209 W. 3rd; from 1886-1889 they lived at 217 W. 9th, and from 1890-1891 they lived at 209 E. 8th (Leadville City Directories, 1883-1891). The streets west of Harrison Avenue were considered "the better residential section" of which the Bradfords resided for several years (American

Guides Project, 2008). Their movement over the years indicates that they may have moved for financial reasons, living on the west side of town in prosperous times and on the East side when their finances were lower. The *Colorado School Journal* reports that she contributed to the family's finances by teaching school (1894).

The Bradfords left Leadville in 1889 and moved to Colorado Springs. Bradford continued her teaching and lectured locally on different topics. The same article from the *Colorado School Journal* (1894) was not titled but reported on the upcoming election of state superintendent. The article reported Bradford took a position as lecturer at the Colorado Summer School and worked in the Sociology Department. She lectured on subjects including, "The Workingman's Side of This (labor) Most Important Issue of the Day, and "Literature of the Eighteenth Century, Social Transformations and The Tendency of Modern Art," and she created a series of lectures based upon her personal investigations on "The Comparative Merits of German, English, French, and American Public Schools." From these lectures and her educational interests, she wrote on these issues (1894).

After living in Colorado Springs for four years, she and her family relocated to Denver in late 1893. Bradford's husband continued to invest in mining ventures and spent time creating inventions for the mining industry. His main invention was a hot and cold blast furnace for treating low grade ores. This furnace was tested in British Columbia and Salt Lake City and he anticipated making a fortune from this device but before his invention was promoted and used nationwide, he died on Christmas Day in 1901. An article in the *Denver Republican* (December 26, 1901), entitled, "E.T.

Bradford, Husband of Well Known Club Woman, Dead,” told of Edward visiting New York at the time of his death to promote his mining interests. The article reported that Bradford, who was with him on this trip had returned to Colorado the month before and that a telegram arrived on Christmas Day telling her of his passing as a result of heart failure.

The article said that he had, just days before, sent a telegram to his family letting them know he was “prospering in his business and was home shortly after the holidays.” After sharing a brief history of his life, the article said, “He was a man of unusual polish of manner and of personality that held friends once made.” Another article (*Denver Republican*, December 26, 1901) printed a statement from his partner, Alford C. Purdy:

Mr. Bradford had perfected a smelter which decreased the expense of reducing ores by two-thirds, an invention to which he had devoted the greater portion of his professional life. One of his smelters is in practical operation in Utah, and another is being erected in the state of Washington. In addition to this he was negotiating the sale of a rich mine in Alaska under an arrangement by which he was to receive a large block of stock. I was his partner and we were negotiating with four prominent bankers of this city. Mr. Bradford was a comparatively poor man, but I am sure that within a year he would have realized from \$1,000,000 to \$1,200,000 had he lived. I am going to try and save of a part of this money for his estate, but I am not sure that I can do it.

After her husband’s death on Christmas Day, 1901, Bradford continued her work in education and served as Adams county school superintendent from 1903-1904.

Adams County was formed in 1902 when the citizens voted to make it its own county, separate from the large Arapahoe County, of which it was originally a part. Bradford was the first superintendent of schools in Adams County. Here, her career in educational administration began and for the next twenty years she continued to take leadership roles in Denver, as county and city superintendent and eventually state superintendent.

Her Children

Throughout her career and political aspirations, Bradford was a devoted mother. Her children all lived with or near her. Her eldest son Craig, born in 1885, was an engineer; married May Nelson and they had one child, Edward Taylor Bradford, III in 1910. Bradford mentioned this event in one of her personal letters dated December 5, 1910. She wrote, “I was out of the office for several hours each day, owing to the arrival of a little baby at our house – the first child of my son.” This correspondence also showed that Bradford’s son and his family were sharing a home with her at this time. Her first daughter, Adele, born in 1880, married Clare Hatton. Both were prominent actors. They had one son, Bradford Hatton, born December 24, 1905, in Denver who was also an actor and lived until 1969. Her second daughter, Florence, born in 1886, married Russell Barnes but died in 1912 at the age of 26 in Colorado Springs. The Bradfords had another son, Edward Taylor Bradford, who died as a young child. Little information has been published on this child (Stone, 1918; *Rocky Mountain News*, August 10, 1947; *Denver Post*, August 12, 1969).

Many articles, published in the local Denver newspapers, described the lives of Adele, Clare and their son Bradford. Adele, born in Leadville, Colorado, was described by the press as a “stagestruck teen-ager,” and played extra parts at two different theaters in Denver, the Broadway and the Elitch Gardens Theater. Later, she was a regular member of the summer stock company program at the Elitch Gardens Theater, playing with renowned actor Lewis Stone. Throughout her long career she was known by her maiden name, Adele Bradford, and in 1904 she married actor Clare Hatton. They were

both members of the Woodward Players Stock Theater for eight years and they worked for the Denham Theater in Denver, acting alongside stars such as, Henrietta Crossman, John Halliday and Otis Skinner (*Denver Post*, March 7, 1957).

The Hatton's traveled and performed in various cities including, Kansas City, Cincinnati, Detroit, Omaha and Spokane and also acted in silent film. They returned to Denver permanently in 1934, continued to act, and brought with them their son, Bradford Hatton. Bradford Hatton was a well renowned actor and in later years, a newspaper article discussed his coming to Denver as an infant in the "traditional theatrical trunk" (*Denver Post*, July 21, 1937). He attended Denver public schools and graduated from the University of Colorado.

During his career he acted in theaters in Denver, New York and various cities in between. He was featured in motion pictures, including "Father of the Bride" and Broadway film version of "Top Banana" (*Denver Post*, October 4, 1950 & February 26, 1954). He married three times. While performing in New York, he met and married fellow actress Elaine Temple in 1936 and The *Denver Post* reported that the couple were members of the "Three Men and a Horse Company" in New York and that their marriage was the "culmination of a stage romance."

The *Denver Post* (July 27, 1948) reported Hatton married for a second time to Miss Lydia Rydholm of Cleveland, Ohio. The ceremony took place in Fairfield Connecticut and they made their home in New York. Another article (*Denver Post*, November 5, 1953) reported a third marriage of Bradford Hatton to Miss Mimi Cabanne Jenkins of California. She too was living in New York and worked under the name,

Mimi Cabanne. She had her own radio show in New York and Hollywood and appeared in television shows such as “Carousel” and “Brigadoon.” Bradford Hatton died at the age of 63 on Monday, August 11 in 1969 of a “circulatory ailment, which necessitated amputation of his right foot last February” (*Denver Post*, August 12, 1969).

Conclusion

Bradford’s family life began in Brooklyn, New York, and took her to the West. Born into a wealthy family of public servants, she married, had children and followed her husband and parents to Leadville, Colorado, to make their fortunes in the mining industry. Neither her father nor her husband made their fortunes in mining, and both died, leaving widows behind. Bradford raised her children and became active in the fight for women’s rights. The next chapter will discuss her involvement in the Colorado and National suffrage campaign.

CHAPTER III

OPPORTUNITY THROUGH SUFFRAGE

Introduction

This chapter addresses the suffrage journey, from its origin at Seneca Falls, the early victory in the West, focusing primarily on Colorado, and the impact that suffrage had on this state. Bradford played a role in this process and she and the other women of Colorado used their suffrage victory to make changes that bettered the life of Colorado citizens and then used their experiences to prove to the rest of the country that suffrage was a positive move for Colorado.

Bradford, like many other women before the turn of the twentieth century, found herself with time on her hands as men went off to work and children were in school. She took this opportunity to join and lead organizations, gathering with other women to discuss the changes needed in their lives. Woloch comments on this:

In the late nineteenth century, woman's sphere expanded visibly, especially through the vehicle of single-sex association, which women used to penetrate public affairs. The middle-class woman was usually involved in some sort of voluntary society, whether a church group, a literary discussion circle, or a welfare project (2000, 275-276).

Woloch mentioned that women "took special pride in gender," as they continued to form female only associations. She said, "Their special mission in public life was to purify, uplift, control, and reform; to improve men, children, and society; to extend the values of the home" (276). Bradford was one of these women and she was, not only a member of various women's organizations, but also founded and led several. Her life was dedicated

to this “special mission” and her efforts helped to improve the conditions of men, women and children – offering them new opportunities.

Through this early participation in women’s groups and town meetings, Bradford became known as an excellent speaker and trusted ally. Her journey as a political leader began long before her birth, as she was born into a family of public service. This chapter will start from the beginning of the suffrage movement – looking at suffrage from a national perspective, will then discuss the early suffrage victory in Colorado with Bradford’s participation, and then describe the ways in which suffrage in Colorado was used to better the lives of Colorado citizens and served as an example to others wanting suffrage across the nation. Bradford wrote on this topic and there were numerous historical articles that discussed the same issue. Colorado was seen as an example to other states wanting the same privilege and leading suffragists used Colorado to make their point that suffrage was a success. They used Bradford’s help to spread this message.

Bradford was a leading advocate for suffrage in her state. Immediately following the suffrage victory in 1893, she and other women were placed on the next ballot for public office. Bradford was on the ballot for state superintendent, nominated by the Democratic Party, the “first woman ever nominated for a constitutional elective office in the United States” (*Rocky Mountain News*, January 16, 1938). She lost to another woman, Anjanette J. Peavey, but this nomination and subsequent public roles prepared her for her elected role as state superintendent in 1912. In order to understand Colorado’s women’s suffrage success and its importance, the national suffrage

movement is discussed. By doing so, the reader will understand how Colorado fits into the progression of all women gaining suffrage across the United States in 1920 and how with this early victory, Bradford gained a spot in the public eye, eventually being elected by the people into the most prestigious educational position in the state of Colorado, State Superintendent of Public Instruction. This chapter addresses the brief history of national and Colorado suffrage, with Bradford's participation, and gave examples of Colorado's success.

National Suffrage

This section on national suffrage is a brief history of this movement to better understand what was happening in Colorado and why an early suffrage victory for the women of Colorado was significant. Many publications written on this topic go into greater detail than this dissertation (Kraditor, 1981; Flexner, 1975; Melder, 1977; Dubois, 1978; Buhle & Buhle, 1978; Evans, 1989; Baker, 2002).

Women began fighting for their right to vote in the early nineteenth century, but the first official event began with a meeting in the summer of 1848 and this goal of women obtaining the ballot spanned almost seventy five years. The meeting took place in the home of Mary Ann McClintock in Seneca Falls, New York. In attendance were future leading suffragists, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, her sister, Lucretia Mott, and a few other friends (Melder, 1977; Buhle & Buhle, 1978; Evans, 1989). These women, founders of the women's rights movement, started as abolitionists and continued their fight for women's rights; seeing a comparison between themselves and slaves – both without freedoms equal to white men (Chafe, 1977; Hersh, 1978; Kraditor, 1981;

Buechler, 1990). The meeting resulted in the writing of their complaints entitled; “The Declaration of Sentiments” and a week later a large gathering took place that included over 200 women and 40 men in which the sentiments of these women were publicly made known (Melder, 1977; Evans, 1989). The Seneca Falls convention, as it was known, declared the women’s desire for equal citizenship – including the right to vote - and began a long road to suffrage victory.

Directly after, and in response to, the Seneca Falls convention, women activists continued to fight for abolition, suffrage and other causes that increased the welfare of women and children, including better wages and working conditions. They used the same method of rallies and public conventions, despite criticism from the press and religious sectors (Evans, 1989; Kraditor, 1981). Hoffert (1995) notes that the suffrage movement was the most “notable and dramatic” effort to improve the legal, political, economic and social status of women in this country. When the Civil War began women’s rights advocates focused on the war effort – putting their fight for the vote on hold (Buechler, 1990; Dudden, 2002).

In the nineteenth century, Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton were partners in women’s rights efforts and complimented each other’s strengths. Anthony, the organizer, and Stanton, the speaker and writer, combined their efforts for the same causes. In 1863, the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution proposed to end slavery. Supporting this amendment, they formed the National Woman’s Loyal League and collected signatures that urged Congress to pass this legislation (Flexner, 1975; Buechler, 1990). The amendment was passed in January 1865 and was ratified on

December 6th of the same year (Tsesis, 2004). Women saw it as a victory for themselves because they believed now was the best time for the country to recognize both black men, as well as, women.

When the Civil War was over, women interested in women's rights before the war were anxious to resume their fight for equality with men, including the right to vote, better working conditions, and moral reform. They assumed that out of gratitude for their war efforts they would be rewarded with the support of the men whom they had helped. These former allies, male politicians, informed them that this was the "Negro's hour" and that they would have to wait for their rights. The ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868 provided men, including black men, over the age of 21 with the right to vote (Kraditor, 1981; Buechler, 1990; Marilley, 1996). This amendment was very broad and did not specifically give black men the right to vote. Women's suffrage supporters opposed this amendment, as well as the following Fifteenth Amendment because neither addressed the issue of woman's suffrage.

Leading suffragists, Anthony and Stanton, did not agree with the Fourteenth Amendment and felt that it should have been defeated. Another suffragist, Lucy Stone, felt that even if women could not vote, this amendment was a positive accomplishment for Black men and their equality in the United States. This difference of opinion, along with the fact that Anthony and Stanton wanted to sever ties with the abolitionists, who after the war committed themselves to fighting only for equal rights for black men led to a split in the women's rights movement. In 1869, Anthony and Stanton formed the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) to promote opposition of the Fifteenth

Amendment which gave only black men the right to vote, and to lobby for other causes, addressing, “unequal pay, unfair divorce laws, and clerical conservatism” (Woloch, 2000, 337). When NWSA did not see progress with their opposition to the Fifteenth Amendment, they began to promote the proposed Sixteenth Amendment which enfranchised women (Buechler, 1990; Marilley, 1996).

Six months after NWSA was formed, Stone aligned herself with Henry Ward Beecher and Henry Blackwell, former abolitionists, and together they formed the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA) which then joined forces with the Republican Party (Kraditor, 1981; Buechler, 1990; Marilley, 1996; McCammon, 2001). Whereas NWSA focused its attention on the national level by lobbying Congress to get a suffrage amendment passed, the AWSA focused on the passage of state constitutional amendments (McDonagh & Price, 1985; McCammon, 2001).

In the 1890s, the role of women in the United States began to change. More girls and young women were attending high school and colleges and middle-class women were becoming more visible and active in their communities, including more women joining the workforce. Many organizations were formed and women were politically active. This increased participation and cooperation of both groups brought a major change to the two national suffrage organizations. Evans wrote, “Against the backdrop of a growing and highly organized middle class, the old animosities that had divided the woman suffrage movement for two decades no longer seemed salient to a new generation of leaders” (Evans, 1989, 152). This new attitude spurred the joining of the two main suffrage organizations, NWSA and AWSA, merging in to one large group, the

National American Women's Suffrage Association (NAWSA) and the focus centered on state involvement. NAWSA directed more state campaigns and eventually the suffrage movement saw increased membership, new leaders, and a renewed focus across the country. Eastern states organized their suffrage campaigns earlier than the rest of the country but the West was the first to gain the vote (Flexner, 1975; Giele, 1995; McCammon, 2001).

After the Civil War, the South did not gain immediate suffrage support across the states because the focus was on reconstruction and a life that was different from what southern residents had known. They worried about rebuilding their homes, adjusting to life without slavery, and reorganizing their lives. Their challenges were great; therefore, suffrage in the south had a different purpose and was not a high priority. The strongest argument for its passage was that it helped assure white supremacy (Kraditor, 1981). This reason was different than the motivation in other Eastern, Northern and Western states, which did not have the same needs or feelings.

Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho granted women suffrage between 1890 and 1896. Wyoming women gained the right to vote by the introduction of a measure to the territorial legislature in 1869. The measure passed and some citizens hoped that this suffrage victory for women would cause others to immigrate to this state. Other citizens hoped that white women would outnumber the growing number of African-American voters in Wyoming. When Wyoming became a state in 1890, male voters approved the measure that kept the ballot in women's hands (Woloch, 2000). Utah women earned the right to vote twice. First in 1870, when, similar to Wyoming, the territorial legislature

granted women suffrage, hoping they would continue to support polygamy. In rejection of this reason, Congress revoked Utah women's suffrage rights, hoping to rid the state of polygamy. In 1895, the vote for women was once again reinstated when it was written into the constitution of the newly formed state (Woloch, 2000). Colorado women gained the right to vote after a hard-fought suffrage campaign (Buechler, 1990; Marilley, 1996; Mead, 2004). Mead said,

In 1893, Colorado was the first state to enfranchise women in a popular referendum after a vigorous campaign. The victory was radical because it directly linked to third-party politics in a climate of financial panic and economic despair. This unexpected success demonstrated the importance of reform alliances, party endorsements, and politicized urban clubwomen (2004, 53).

Idaho's success was similar. Women rallied, despite concern that the Populist Party would not endorse the measure and the Republicans would do the same. All political parties, including the Democrats, joined together and voted for suffrage in 1896 (Mead, 2004). Harriet Stanton Blatch, daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, noticed the success of Colorado and Idaho women. She, in her fight for suffrage in New York in 1915, said, "Why should not the women of the East find champions among the politically powerful women in the West" (Dubois, 1997, 191).

All citizens did not welcome the effort to gain the vote and equal rights for women, including equal wages, better working conditions and moral reform. Before and after the Civil War, anti-suffragists criticized women for their efforts – some finding the speeches and conventions of these women's rights activists redundant. The same speeches about the same subject matter were given over and over. Ministers chided women for being foolish in their speaking and lecturing (Isenberg, 1998). Religious

leaders opposed suffrage and continued to promote the value of a woman's domestic status –turning “submission into a noble virtue and self-sacrifice into a patriotic duty, the canon of domesticity defined a sphere where woman would demonstrate her moral superiority and power over men” (Marshall, 1997, 19). The “cult of true womanhood” a term used to describe women who exemplified certain virtues such as, purity, piety, and domesticity, sought to change the value of a woman's place in the home – enhancing her status (Welter, 1966; Easton, 197; Epstein, 1981; Marshall, 1997). Religious leaders promoted this type of “true woman” as supreme and what all women should strive to be – not independent and in favor of their own rights.

After the Civil War an anti-suffrage campaign became better organized. In 1871, a petition, signed by women, was sent to Congress protesting suffrage. They based their opposition on “Holy scripture, female physical frailty, children's welfare, marital stability and social order” (Marshall, 1997, 20). One of the petitioners was Catharine Beecher, sister of Henry Ward Beecher, co-founder with Lucy Stone, of the AWSA. Anti-suffragists continued to write petitions and speak out against the ballot for women as long as the suffragists continued to press for the right to vote. Although many women were against suffrage to protect their traditional roles in the home, some had different reasons for not wanting the ballot.

Anti-suffragists were not simply homemakers afraid of change; but many were from elite families and were more concerned with uprooting their position in life. Knowing and being married to powerful men who spoke on their behalf, provided them with stability they felt would be threatened by suffrage for women. These women were

content with the life they were living and did not want to see change. They felt that only women with experience and training to address a certain issue should speak on women's behalf – not all women (Marshall, 1997). The National Association Opposed to Woman's Suffrage was started in 1911 and within a few years had a national membership of over 700,000.

Between 1896 and 1910, when the state of Washington granted woman suffrage, no other state granted women the right to vote. During this time, suffrage supporters continued to grow in number and the movement was continuing across the United States. Women made progress in controlling their lives by attending college and working outside of the home. As their independence grew and technology made home life easier, the ability to participate in activities outside the home was more common and women realized the need for equality with men. The suffrage victory in Washington initiated a new and stronger surge in suffrage activity. A year later, in 1911, California women gained suffrage and by 1914, Arizona, Kansas, Montana, Nevada, and Oregon had suffrage victories (Harper, 1969; Woloch, 2000).

Although states across the nation were gaining women's suffrage, there were still states lacking the vote. Even though women were slowly gaining state suffrage, between 1904 and 1915, Anna Howard Shaw, president of NAWSA, did not have the administrative skills or captivating presence that was needed to gain national suffrage. Her successor, Carrie Chapman Catt, was much different in her approach, and under her leadership the movement was more intense. Catt was charming and had great organizational skills, and when she became NAWSA president in 1915, she changed the

way the organization was run. Rather than focusing on the states and the old method of educating women on the subject, Catt chose to strengthen her affiliations with women's groups and put political pressure on the federal government (Harper, 1969; Dubois, 1997; Woloch, 2000).

On March 3, 1913, American suffragist Alice Paul, who had recently been jailed in England for her suffrage involvement, led protests at the gates of the White House with a parade of suffrage supporters. The demonstration caused a stir as spectators, including some police, jeered at the women, causing troops to be called in to keep the peace. It took three hours to walk the mile from the Peace Monument to the Treasury but the effort was a success as thousands of new suffrage supporters were gained (Harper, 1969; Dubois, 1997; Mead, 2004). Paul and the other women used World War I as an excuse to gain the vote, citing the need for women to have the vote, which would help them in their war work. They gained the support of President Wilson and he urged the Senate, to pass a suffrage amendment. In 1916 and 1917, he claimed this measure was an important step, "vital to winning the war" (Woloch, 2000, 359). The House of Representatives finally agreed with the president and the wartime sentiment and passed the Nineteenth Amendment, granting women suffrage on January 10, 1918. The Senate approved the measure in June 1919. The vote was ratified on August 26, 1920 and women gained the right to vote nationwide.

Although all women across the nation officially gained suffrage in 1920, states in the West, including Colorado, allowed women to have the vote much earlier. The next section will discuss the Colorado victory of 1893 and will give the reader a better

understanding of Bradford's role in this movement and how her early activism was a part of Colorado women campaigning for an early suffrage victory.

Colorado Suffrage

Several comprehensive books have been published on Colorado suffrage (McCammon & Campbell, 2001; Mead, 2004). This brief history is written to explain the series of events that led to a suffrage victory in Colorado and discusses Bradford's involvement and thoughts on this process. Colorado women were no different from women across the nation with their desire to have the right to vote, but they were different in that they were able to gain the ballot much sooner than the rest of the country and therefore, women were allowed to run for political office sooner, giving Bradford and other women the ability to obtain positions of power much sooner than women in other states.

While Bradford lived in Leadville, raising and supporting her family, Colorado women were becoming active in the fight for their rights. In 1870, the territorial governor, Edward McCook, and his "gracefully aggressive" wife, began to lobby for a woman suffrage bill. They, along with other prominent residents of Colorado, submitted petitions and attended legislative sessions, hoping to sway male politicians toward passing a bill on women's suffrage (Mead, 2004, 54). The next year, leading national suffragists, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, stayed at the McCook's home when visiting Denver. Other Democratic politicians supported this suffrage bill but without the support of the majority of the legislature, the measure was not approved.

In 1877, Colorado women, again, worked to get the legislature to approve a suffrage measure but were defeated.

Suffrage supporters in Colorado formed the Colorado Equal Suffrage Association in 1881. The cause had many critics as women hesitated to join the fight. Many wanted to be involved in the suffrage campaign but found that morally they had to stay close to the home and close to the church. Church meetings and literary clubs were considered a proper place for women to meet but these gatherings, uncontroversial as they were, still brought women together to talk and figure out what they wanted and needed in their lives. Despite this uncertainty, the country was growing rapidly and changes were being made in industry and labor, which would eventually aid the suffrage campaign.

Denver was growing into a well established city, providing a manufacturing base for mining, railroads and other industry and was able to provide better financial resources to its citizens. As a result, labor movements began to grow in Denver, “The city’s labor movement, which grew from one union in 1870 to a member ship of 15,789 in 1892, quickly earned a reputation for radicalism” (Mead, 2004, 60). There was some support for suffrage among middle and working class citizens. Local, state and national labor organizations realized that by supporting suffrage they would be improving and stabilizing the working class (2004, 9). With this new realization, women began to get involved in labor reform organizations fueling their desire to have equal rights with men, including the right to vote. Alice Henry said about women and this movement across the country, “The Labor Reform Associations were in many ways far in advance of any previous efforts made by women. Their leaders had a definite policy to which they

adhered; they were women of ability, well fitted to meet either labor men, employers or legislatures” (1971, 46). The labor movement provided one of the first opportunities for women to join together to speak out on a cause.

By the last decade of the 19th Century, women workers in the garment industry outnumbered men. In 1888, the AFL organization started the Illinois Women’s Alliance, which specialized in protecting women and children. It fought for women and children in home, social and industrial life. The organization exposed the weakness of the compulsory attendance law and helped to ensure the law was enforced, taking thousands of children out of the factories and streets and placing them in school (Foner, 1955; Henry, 1971; Yellowitz, 1977; Sinyai, 2006). The Illinois Women’s Alliance and the AFL were given credit for swaying public opinions in favor of women and children’s rights and improving the working conditions of women and children. Next, the AFL focused its attention on the garment industry, chartering women’s union groups in the shirt and collar factories. Strikes occurred in 1891 at a factory in Troy, New York, and in other nearby factories, against wage cuts that had taken place bringing wages down to fifty-cents a day. When the company refused to bend to the striker’s demands, the AFL issued a boycott on the company’s products, and the company conceded to the AFL and union workers’ demands and agreed to raise wages, setting precedence for other factories and their workers. This set of strikes and subsequent similar incidences brought attention to the negligence of employers and recognized women as being partly responsible for the victory (Foner, 1955; Henry, 1971; Yellowitz, 1977; Sinyai, 2006).

In 1896, Eva McDonald Valesh, a female labor leader told members of the American Federation of Labor (AFL), “If men seriously expect higher wages or shorter hours they must for their own self-preservation, organize the women, making them valuable allies instead of a source of danger” (1896, 222). Understanding the importance of this statement, the AFL allowed women to become members. Women joined under unions but because most unions were specialized by different skilled crafts, which the women did not fit into, women joined separate unions just for women workers. Often a factory or shop would have two unions, one for men and one for women. Women believed this arrangement was not fair as they still had less work and pay. Several women’s unions, chartered by the AFL were started including the Ladies’ Federal Labor Union in Chicago.

This organization of women and their demands for more equality and better pay in their working environments eventually led them to ask for more rights in other areas, including having a voice in education, one example seen above with the argument for enforcing compulsory attendance laws in Illinois. Soon women were able to vote in school elections, run for school district offices and even more importantly, the legislature continued to allow the subject of women’s suffrage to stay on their future agendas (Yellowitz, 1977; Mead, 2004; Sinyai, 2006).

In the 1893, the Populist Party endorsed women’s suffrage and this support increased the suffrage momentum amongst the women of the state. The Populist Party, created in 1892, because rural interests were not a priority of the Democratic and Republican Parties. The Populist Party or the “People’s Party” was created to represent

the average person and in 1896 gained control of the Democratic Party, nominating William J. Bryan for President of the United States. The Republican candidate won the election (Mead 2004) Many women supported the Populist Party and with its endorsement, other parties also supported the suffrage campaign including the Republican and Democratic Parties. The state suffrage association changed its name in 1893 to the Non-Partisan Equal Suffrage Association of Colorado, in order to not alienate any party. The Colorado General Assembly approved a house bill that allowed the suffrage question to be on the next ballot. In March 1893, Bradford was involved in the suffrage campaign from her home city of Colorado Springs. Brown wrote, “The campaign of 1893 was also vigorously prosecuted at Colorado Springs by a local association which was organized in March of that year under the name of the Colorado Springs Equal Suffrage Association, with Mrs. Mary C.C. Bradford as president” (Brown, 1898, 14). This group was reorganized as the Colorado Equal Suffrage Association on June 27, 1893.

Women’s right to vote was debated in the media. The *Rocky Mountain News* (August 12, 1893), to convince men to vote for suffrage, wrote,

Woman suffrage, a cause that appeals to all generous and fair-minded men as to its justness, ought not to require battle by its champions for its defense. Since the beginning of the world a change or reform in any long-established custom has been opposed by persons who do not believe in anything our great grandfathers did not practice, by others influenced by prejudice, by more who dislike to acknowledge that they may be wrong, and still others from the love of opposition.

New ideas are never welcome. We cannot cite a single important, progressive movement, whether it was political economy, invention or religion that has not met with bitter opposition and abuse; and woman suffrage is not an exception to the rule. If our opponents in this movement will drop vulgarity, profanity,

ridicule and abuse and meet us, logic with logic, we shall then have fair battle. We cannot cope with them otherwise.

Many arguments for and against this decision were presented. One article, written by the Colorado Equal Suffrage Association, said, “Women must be enfranchised. It is a mere question of time. She must was a slave or an equal; there is no middle ground. Admit, in the slightest degree, her right to property or education, and she must have the ballot to protect the one and use the other” (*Rocky Mountain News*, August 12, 1893).

Throughout the suffrage battle, the church had differing opinions on this matter. Before Colorado women won the right to vote, the *Denver Republican* (November 6, 1893), reported that Father O’Ryan, a Catholic priest, supported and discussed suffrage, comparing the issue of women’s rights to historical views of the church saying, “If the past and present policy of the church were adopted by the civil government, particularly in the United States, women would vote equally with men,” and he then discussed the biblical history saying, “In the apostolic times women occupied the highest positions in the ministrations of the church.” He compared the role of women in England saying, “It is when we go to England that we see woman exercising the fullest powers. Queens, abbesses, advisers, in every branch of the nation’s internal and foreign government we see woman and her work.”

Father O’Ryan and the Catholic Church were not alone in their support for suffrage. Generally, the church was opposed to women speaking in public places, regardless of their reason. Gerda Lerner wrote about the Grimke Sisters from South Carolina, pioneers for abolition and women’s rights. Sarah Grimke was known for speaking out publicly, which was not a usual occurrence and was looked down upon by

churches. Lerner said, “All churches, except for the Quakers, were opposed to women speaking in public, but since the issue had never been put to the test before, many individual ministers and congregations were open minded” (2004, 119).

With this new open-minded attitude, the day of the Colorado election finally approached with great anticipation as seen by the media coverage. The *Denver Republican*, (October 17, 1893) reported, “The time when woman shall have been placed upon an equal footing with man in dictating who shall govern her and what laws shall be enacted, is not far in the future. All the great men and great thinkers of the day are in line in favoring woman’s enfranchisement.”

Men went to the polls on November 7, 1893, and voted on the women’s suffrage. The same day, the *Denver Republican* (November 8, 1893) reported, “The dispatches received from various parts of the state up to the time of going to press clearly indicate that the equal suffrage proposition has been carried by a safe majority, and that henceforth the women of Colorado will enjoy the same right to vote as the men.” The next day, the *Rocky Mountain News* published another confirmation, “The special significance of the approval of equal suffrage in Colorado by a vote that records all but a few counties in its favor, is the evidence it furnishes that the people of the more advanced states of the Union are ready for the genuine reform and only need a little well-directed educational work to secure its adoption” (November 9, 1893).

After several days, the final votes cast were tallied and printed in the newspapers. The vote for suffrage carried the election by 6,347 votes (35,798 in favor/29,451 against). Shortly after, the governor proclaimed, “that every female person, a resident in

Colorado, shall be entitled to vote at all elections in the same manner in all respects as male persons, and subject to the same qualifications” (*Denver Times*, December 2, 1893). A few days later, an article (*Denver Republican*, December 9, 1893) was written entitled, “See How We Shine: Colorado Gives Women Freedom and Calls upon the World to Look.” Despite opposition, the vote succeeded and this article acknowledged the fact,

That opposition has been of such a nature that, being thoughtless and bigoted, it could not well be reached and combated by the convincing words of the talented speakers whom the women put into the field. The opposition of an open and tolerant sort was speedily put to flight by these means; the secret enmity exhibited itself only at the polls (1893).

Colorado and the rest of the western states gained suffrage before the turn of the century stood as an example to women in other states wanting the same privilege. The *Denver Republican* article acknowledged this by saying,

A majority in the state is sufficiently large to do Colorado great honor as one of the first commonwealths to see justice and equality and seeing to act. In the West, always is the beginning of new reforms and new ideas, and the rest of the world may look with wonder and with profit upon Colorado now. The women of the West have done a thing to be proud of” (December 9, 1893).

Colorado women used groups such as the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) and the Non-Partisan Equal Suffrage Association of Colorado, Colorado suffragists and national figures such as, Carrie Chapman Catt from the National American Woman’s Suffrage Association, to secure the ballot. Bradford was involved in the suffrage campaign prior to and during the suffrage victory in 1893. After Colorado women won the ballot, Bradford helped the national suffrage campaign. She wrote and spoke about her experiences and the Colorado success. Shortly after Colorado women

were granted suffrage, she published an article in *Outlook* on December 23, 1893, entitled, “The Equal Suffrage Victory in Colorado.” About her state she said,

In the equal suffrage victory of Colorado the cause of political justice and human freedom has been advanced further than by any other event in the last twenty-five years of American political history. It has placed women of Colorado upon a level of citizenship attained as yet by the woman of but one other State in the Union (Bradford, 1893, 1205).

She wrote about the opponents to the cause saying,

The foreign-born and illiterate men showed their interest in the subject by bitter animosity. The foreign-born and illiterate women showed no interest at all, most of them being ignorant that the question was to be submitted at this time – some having not an idea as to the meaning of suffrage.

The liquor-dealers and saloon men were opponents of the movement, and to their opposition has been attributed the loss of Lake County, Leadville, containing a very large proportion of saloons.

The owners of property rented for illegal and immoral purposes were loud in their denunciations of equal suffrage, giving as a reason their fear that many of their houses would remain unrented, as the demand for such places would lessen had women the legal means of enforcing equal pay for equal work, and so of keeping women in the path of honest self-support.

Indignant protests were uttered by shopkeepers who had reduced their employees’ wages below a point capable of sustaining even a bare existence. They thought woman suffrage a dangerous innovation (1205).

Her words regarding suffrage opponents were specific and targeted certain groups, mostly consisting of men. She mentioned foreign-born and illiterate men, saloon owners and liquor dealers, and those involved in illegal or immoral practices, such as employers and landlords who did not give fair pay or living conditions. The reason these groups would be against suffrage was they feared that women would vote for prohibition or against prostitution which would put an end to their business ventures.

None of these groups wanted to see women gain the ballot, and Bradford called attention to their anti-suffrage sentiments in her article. This type of negative recognition brought attention to these people and could possibly sway women or men who were opposed to these illegal and immoral practices to vote for women's suffrage. She spoke directly to the conservative citizens and to the labor movement, mentioning that shopkeepers were not paying fair wages. Her words were used to bring positive attention to the good that suffrage would bring and negative attention to those who did not support it – some of the conservative members of society, possibly swaying them to choose suffrage. She then claimed that suffrage supporters included:

- Eight-tenths of the clergyman of the State, whose influence, time, and labor was freely bestowed and wrought incalculable good.
- The thinking, public-school trained middle classes, called by Mr. Lincoln, 'the plain people,' was almost a unit for equal suffrage.
- The farmers were largely in favor of this extension of the franchise, seeing nothing revolutionary in the law itself nor its tendencies;
- The labor unions, containing, of course, the more intelligent and skilled laborers, cast their influence in favor of this reform and for the same reason that another class opposed it – because it would undeniably make equal pay for equal work a question of practical politics (Bradford, 1893, 1206).

Bradford thanked the media and said, "To the press of Colorado the women of Colorado are deeply indebted," and said that the media opposed to equal suffrage, "may be counted on the fingers of one hand." In this article she said, the illegal and immoral citizens were against suffrage while the clergyman, public-school trained middle class, farmers, labor unions, and "the more intelligent skilled laborers" wanted women to have the vote (1893, 1206). This article was used to persuade certain groups of people, in particular the conservative and hard working people, to choose suffrage, rather than be

like the illegal and immoral public who were against it. She also was speaking directly to the labor unions and their members and supporters.

She noted that although a majority of Colorado's women worked for and believed in suffrage, "a notable exception being the public school teachers in some of the cities, Colorado Springs being one" (1893, 1206). Bradford may have acknowledged this fact because she herself was an educator and was living in Colorado Springs during the time that this article was written so she knew the feelings of school teachers in her city. She knew that schoolteachers were afraid of supporting suffrage, in the event that they might lose their job for being vocal about this controversial issue. Teachers in Colorado were given yearly contracts that could be not renewed the following year.

Although Bradford reported that eight-tenths of the clergyman of her state gave time and labor to the movement, Rebecca Mead suggested that this attitude changed in some instances. A Catholic publication, *The Monitor*, was initially supportive and published suffrage material but then stopped, causing a question in the churches support. Editor of the *Monitor*, Father Peter Yorke, "was initially supportive and published full front-page endorsements," but in 1895, Mead said he stopped publishing the suffrage material (Mead, 2004, 88). The reason for this is unclear but Mead wrote that Yorke was "reacting to alleged associations between the suffrage movement and the virulently anti-Catholic APA, or to the rumors that Susan B. Anthony criticized Yorke at the Prohibition Party convention" (88). Regardless, churches remained a strong target of the suffragists because of their influence and the contacts they provided. In Washington state, Catholic suffragists approached Catholic Church leaders, prompting the church to

pronounce, “The matter an individual decision, allowing several priests to support suffrage publicly” (2004, 112).

In 1900, Father O’Ryan, the Catholic priest who had originally supported the vote for women had a change of heart. He said,

To say that female suffrage in Colorado has proved a failure is to express a half truth, and a failure, after all, is but a negative term. Failures are oftentimes respectable; we can tolerate failures in things and persons.

But the exercise of suffrage by women in Colorado is no longer tolerable; it is an unmixed evil, a horrible travesty on the hopes and expectations of many of us; a Frankenstein monster we have raised which we must slay or it slays us. It is injuring our homes; it is ruinous to all that is becoming and admirable in many of our women.

He then discussed his change of heart,

I was one of the theorizers who voted for woman suffrage. I imagined her entrance into the political arena would soften the combat and civilize the combatants; that her participation in politics would cleanse political ways; that the beetle-browed ward heeler; the saloonkeeper with a pull, the purchaser of fraudulent votes, would pass away as darkness when the dayspring arises. I believed that, of course, we should have a higher class of candidates for office, or that surely only a higher class could succeed once woman suffrage obtained.

When asked what good woman suffrage has done, O’Ryan answered, “Absolutely none,” and said that women vote as their men do (*Denver Times*, January 29, 1900).

In response to Father O’Ryan’s statement, a suffragist wrote, “The views of Father O’Ryan have aroused indignation among all suffragists, in my opinion, in the state. I do not believe he had any justification whatever for his utterances” (1900).

In the defense of women and their right to vote, another citizen wrote another letter in the same paper, “The women who want the vote are neither the pampered pets of society nor degraded women of the slums, but that large class between these two extremes,

comprising the most earnest, intelligent, thoughtful women of our land.” Opinions differed on the idea of suffrage but regardless, the fight moved forward in other states.

After the Colorado victory, Bradford continued her suffrage efforts as she was an advocate for national suffrage and wrote articles and gave speeches in support of suffrage. In 1903, she wrote “How Women Vote in Colorado” for *Pearson’s Magazine*, which discussed Colorado women’s role in the voting process and their interpretation of this event. She later wrote two articles for the Colorado Equal Suffrage Association entitled, “Equal Suffrage Victory in Colorado.” The first article summarized the years 1893-1908 and the second version was a continuance of the Colorado situation dated, 1908 to 1912. She used her voice to educate citizens in Colorado and across the nation about the suffrage success in her state.

She was a leader in the Democratic Party. This party in Colorado was divided when Bradford first was officially involved. The Democratic Party in Colorado had split into two groups, the “White Wings,” who were Cleveland Democrats, and the “Silver” Democrats. The White Wings were a more conservative Democratic group, led by President Grover Cleveland and believed in producing a limited amount of silver, whereas the Silver Democrats believed in “free silver” or the ability to mine and produce unlimited amounts of silver. In Colorado, this was a major area of concern because mining was a big industry in this state. Each group maintained its own state committees and because of this division, neither group could get anything accomplished. Democratic women did not want to be a part of this situation. Historian Brown said, “To them a divided Democracy was an anomaly which they did not care to understand, and they

plainly stated to the chairman of the respective factional committee that they were Democrats only and would recognize no prefixes to the name” (1898, 34).

To overcome the ineffectiveness of the Democratic Party, two women, Mrs. Anna Marshall Cochran and Bradford decided to take action. These two women arranged the first meeting of Democratic women in Colorado, held at Bradford’s home in May 1894. From this meeting, the first Democratic club was organized. They called it the “Colorado Women’s Democratic Club.” The club began with only nine members and shortly after its conception was accepted by the National Democratic Committee as the only “straight” Democratic organization in Colorado; they believed in one united Party and did not agree with the other two divided Democratic Parties. Bradford was appointed as the state organizer for this organization. Brown wrote,

Mrs. Bradford canvassed the state, making a number of speeches. In this tour she added to her reputation the highest encomiums of the press for her delightful oratory and her superior reasoning powers. Taking letters from each chairman of the two State Central Committees, wherever she appeared she usually succeeded in drawing both factions to her meetings. She organized twelve strong clubs in the state and started them to work under her own instruction (1898, 35).

The two divided parts of the party and the women came together at another meeting in Denver. The women declared that they would not sit as delegates in the two separate Democratic groups and would only cooperate if the party was united. Brown credits the women for persuading the two groups to come back together to nominate candidates on one ticket. Bradford’s leadership role in bringing together the divided Democratic Party earned her a positive and respected reputation, resulting in her nomination by her Party. All agreed on nominations for the next election of 1894, nominating Bradford for State Superintendent of Public Instruction, the first female in Colorado nominated for a state

office by the Democratic Party (Brown, 1898, 36). This would not be the only time that the Democratic Party in Colorado was divided – in 1902 there was another split and Bradford was again involved (see Chapter IV).

She did not win the election, losing to the Republican candidate, Anjanette Peavey, but her place in Colorado politics was secure. She continued to make speeches in Colorado and her skills were noticed by national organizers who called upon her over the next years to speak across the country. NAWSA sent Bradford to Idaho and Montana in 1895 and 1896 (Mead, 2004, 68), and Arizona in 1905 (51). Catt planned to send Bradford to California for six weeks in 1895, but the state did not want outside help (82).

In 1903, Bradford wrote an article for *Pearson's Magazine* entitled, "How women vote in Colorado." The article begins with a dialogue between a reporter from the East and woman from Colorado. The reporter, looking for the chairman of the house committee on education, receives a shock when he sees that the *chairman* is in fact a woman. The chairwoman, seeing the wonder in the man's eyes said, "

Oh, I forget that all this must seem strange to you. In this state we have become so accustomed to seeing women in politics and official life, that we are astonished at the astonishment of those newly arrived from other states. It is all a matter of course with us nowadays. We rarely stop to think that we are doing anything unusual when we participate in party councils, legislation or elections, State and national. We women have largely ceased to be politically self-conscious, and we perform our civic duties with almost as total an absence of self-criticism as do the men of the State.

The reporter replies:

If your attitude be no longer self-conscious, the view-point of the people of the non-suffrage States is still curious. We either forget that full suffrage exists in Colorado, or, when we recollect the fact, we are so acutely conscious of it, that we examine all Colorado happenings through a glass of manifold power, and we record the impression thus received with exaggerated emphasis.

Then the chairwoman shared her thoughts one last time and said,

“Well! It all seems very funny to us. We work and study and vote and hold office, not like men, but like women who stand the absolute equals of men and therefore women with the opportunity of proving the value of purely feminine ideals of government.”

Bradford continued on with the article saying:

And it does seem funny to us. The woman member of the legislature quoted above was right. To the best men and women in Colorado equal suffrage is a permanent, beautiful fact. Political equality has created an atmosphere of good understanding and mutual helpfulness between the men and women that is as invigorating to breathe as is to the actual atmosphere enjoyed by the citizens of this true mountain republic (Bradford, 1903, 413).

As to the question, “How do women vote in Colorado?” she said, “Conscientiously, sanely, and patriotically.” The rest of the article describes the number of women voting, the polling places, the nomination processes, and the fact that since Colorado women gained the right to vote they had held numerous positions including, the Colorado Legislature, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, county superintendents of schools, State librarians, and city and county clerks (414).

In the article, Bradford, like in all of her writings, was speaking to a specific audience. She used her words to reach the particular group of people she wanted to influence. In this case, she tried to reach out to the women still afraid to support the cause of suffrage, feeling that they would betray the domestic, moral, and feminine ideals they tried hold on to and not lose. At first, in the early to mid 19th Century, women ventured outside of the home and found a safe outlet for gathering with other women and sharing ideas in their church. Karen J. Blair discussed this in her book, “The Clubwoman as Feminist,” she said, “With woman’s supposedly natural inclinations toward morality,

religious activity became the obvious way for a good woman to leave the home to exert some influence on the world around her” (1980, 7).

Later, women began to congregate in other places besides the church, first in conservative organizations like literary clubs and later in more controversial women’s clubs, like suffrage organizations. Despite the move to more controversial clubs, women still wanted to retain their domestic and moral identity. Blair discussed this phenomenon and said women redefined their role as an ideal lady and became “Domestic Feminists.” She said, “The preservation of conventional appearances in the implementation of Domestic Feminism permitted the opening of new public avenues to women” (1980, 5). The new identity for women became more political, according to Blair, and “women nurtured pride in the lady’s special qualities and confidence to reach out into the public domain” (5). The Domestic Feminism ideal provided an extension of women’s ideal qualities and Blair said, “Women who were fearful of the radicalism of suffrage... found in Domestic Feminism attractive possibilities for wider influence” (118). In return, suffragists found Domestic Feminism compatible with their own activism.

In the 1890’s women began to change as noted by Blair, “The new clubwoman of the 1890’s was far more ready to tackle public problems than her mother and grandmother had been, due in large part to the success of the Woman Movement in creating jobs and schools for her” (1980, 119). Bradford was a part of this change and understood the dilemma for women. Her writings showed her attempt at reaching the audience of men and women who still were cautious about supporting and voting for women’s rights. She reached out to her audience by connecting the feminine ideals

cherished by women and challenging them to act upon their desires for equality with men without losing their femininity. Hence her quote from above, “We work and study and vote and hold office, not like men, but like women who stand the absolute equals of men and therefore women with the opportunity of proving the value of purely feminine ideals of government” (Bradford, 1903, 413).

As part of her plan to influence women about the positive aspects of voting like men, she gave her audience examples of known women and their contribution to the state’s progress and mentioned the importance of “women’s political clubs” to Colorado saying, “Women’s political clubs are a noteworthy feature in Colorado. Three of the best known and best loved women in Colorado are the respective presidents of the Jane Jefferson Democratic Club, the Women’s Republican League and the Woman’s Republican Club” (1903, 415). She mentioned herself, saying, “The only woman in Colorado who is a member of a State Central Committee elected by the same methods employed in choosing the men members, and is the writer of the present article, who is a member of the Democratic State Central Committee” (415).

She further admitted to the importance of these women and their activities by saying, “All these women, leaders in their respective parties, are also well known in club, social and philanthropic circles. They are all married and the majority of them are mothers” (415). In an effort to confirm that their household duties were not ignored she wrote,

Mrs. Grenfell’s [Colorado State Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1899-1905] housekeeping is a justly celebrated as her successful conduct of the chief educational office of Colorado. Mrs. Ruble’s four children ‘rise up and call her blessed.’ Mrs. Walling and Mrs. Thompson are notable hostesses, while Mrs.

Belford is the sunshine of her young husband's family, with whom she makes her home (415).

Women in other states began to take notice of the Colorado women and their accomplishments. The media reported on Colorado's successes and when Colorado women attended other state meetings and spoke, people began to listen as they had built a reputation of success. Woloch notes, "The western victories enfranchised only a small minority of constituents, and they proved that woman suffrage would do little damage. The vote, it was observed, did not destroy the home and family in Colorado" (2000, 356). The next section in this chapter will discuss Colorado's success and the opportunities the suffrage victory provided to all citizens of the state – serving as an example to other states wanting to gain the ballot for women.

Colorado's Example

Colorado's suffrage victory was a success for those who agreed that women's suffrage was positive for the state. Part of the suffrage success is based on the fact that Colorado women accomplished many good things with the ballot, as noted by the media. Some tried to negate the positive aspects of suffrage, and did not believe that women's gaining the right to vote was the right decision for Colorado. Despite arguments against Colorado suffrage, there were many arguments in its favor. In 1894, an article (*The Independent*, June 28, 1894) appeared and discussed the first round of municipal elections held in Colorado with women allowed to participate. The article refuted original assumptions that women, even though they had the ballot, would not want to vote but instead, "as a matter of recent record, whether the women of Colorado wanted to vote or not, large numbers of them did vote in the elections just held....in most of the

cities and towns the number of female voters was proportionately as large as that of the men who voted, and in more than one place it is reported that the votes cast by women actually outnumbered those cast by men.”

The article mentioned women had the ballot and were becoming more active in political issues, “Ever since the right to vote was conferred upon them they have been trying to make themselves worthy of the ballot. In Aspen they have had all winter a woman’s political club, in which they have made a careful and systematic study of political and social questions. They adopted the motto that the right to vote meant the duty to vote.” Other issues the article proved wrong were that women voted like the men, that they would vote like their husbands which would only double the vote. This was not so, as in fact the latest election showed that women voted independently and actually they helped to determine the quality of the candidates, “the women went to the caucuses and primaries with the warning that should any man be put up for office who was immoral or impure he would not get the vote of a respectable woman in town.” Party managers took note and made sure that candidates were of good character. The above issues and more were addressed in future articles, but this article, one of the first after the first municipal elections, showed early progress for women.

In 1896, an article was written by William C. Allen from New Jersey entitled “Practical Workings of Women’s Suffrage in the West.” Allen and his wife visited Colorado in 1894; one year after women received the right to vote. He reported on what he had witnessed during his visit as Colorado was in the midst of an election. As he approached the polls,

My wife and myself joined the procession. The sexes were about equally divided. In the row were young and old, young married people, a few children in arms, and a baby-coach or so, were close at hand. Everybody was well dressed, all were chatting, and all were just as polite to one another as if at a party. The women especially seemed to enjoy to the full privilege granted them of exercising the universal franchise given to the adult citizens of Colorado (Allen, 1896, 115).

Similar to the previous article that mentioned that women were influencing the character of the candidates, Allen wrote,

Politics for a few weeks previous had been very, very warm throughout the state, and the women had taken an active part therein. The Populist ticket had been exceedingly distasteful to most of the women, largely for personal reasons. They did not like the candidate for Governor of that ticket. He was a profane old man, and that fact settled him as far as they were concerned. Men may not bother much about such matters, but women will, and in this case they worked hard to secure his downfall (115).

He addressed fallacies including the assertion that only “enthusiasts” were supporters of women’s suffrage, writing, “In Colorado almost everybody believes in it; and it seems satisfactory to everyone except the professional politicians, keepers of beer-shops, and the less desirable strain of society” (115).

Another issue was the fear on the part of some that “voting tends to injure women, and place them in situations calculated to shock their finer sensibilities.” Allen said, “This actual practice is not the case; in fact when men raise women to an equality with themselves at the polls, their own behavior is greatly improved. Rowdyism and bad language ceases.” In fact, Allen reported that women enjoyed voting and took this right very seriously, “It is noticeable that women generally enjoy voting. It gave them something to talk about outside of their domestic duties, or shopping or small talk.” He also believed that women appreciated this civic responsibility and gave a reason, “She of

all others demands desirable schools, directors, and good school houses for her children. She enjoys good streets. She, even more than does a man, appreciates the need of efficient police and fire departments.” Allen observed that women “take time to investigate political subjects. They really seem to get a great deal of enjoyment, as well as information, out of such matters” (Allen, 1896, 115). Allen’s article showed an early observance of Colorado suffrage from an outsider, a man from another state. It showed early signs of the issues that were important to women and what they hoped to do with their right to vote – improve conditions for their families, including improving the quality of city conditions and the moral character of those who were in charge.

In March 1897, an article by Miss Priscilla Leonard was published in *Outlook*, which debated the results of equal suffrage in Colorado. *Outlook*, admitting its anti-suffrage views, published this negative article but three months later published a rebuttal by the Colorado Equal Suffrage Association, which argued that positive changes were made, despite what others might try and prove otherwise. These changes including the improvement in quality and character of candidates running for public office had been made resulting in a great improvement in the administration of public affairs. An aggressive effort to reform legislation was made including, “Bills relating to the property and maternal rights of women, to raising the age of legal protection for girls to eighteen years, and to the Curfew Law.” The article discussed the positive effect that the ballot has had on its female citizens including their willingness to become more educated on public affairs and to make sure that competent men were placed on ballots. Anti-suffragists claimed that Colorado women found women, “clamorous for office,” but this

has not been the case. The women have taken positions on school boards and public institutions but their main focus is getting reputable men elected (Leonard, 1897, 789).

Despite the debate of whether suffrage was good or bad, the fact remained that women had made considerable progress since Seneca Falls. In 1897, famous suffragist, Susan B. Anthony, wrote an article entitled, “The status of woman, past, present, and future,” where she summed up the previous fifty years of women’s lives and discussed the progress made. She said,

Fifty years ago women in the United States was without a recognized individuality in any department of life. No provision was made in public or private schools for her education in anything beyond the rudimentary branches. An education woman was a rarity, and was gazed upon with something akin to awe (Anthony, 1897, 901).

She outlined other injustices for women including property and employment rights, including that property was left to sons or husbands not daughters or wives, the lack of occupations opened to women, and those who did work received much less pay. She also reported the fact that women were not involved in politics saying, “Politics seemed a great deal farther away than paradise, and the most radical reformer had not the prophetic eye which could discern the woman politician” (901).

After recounting where women stood fifty years before, she argued how far they had come during that time, especially in matters of education, employment, and family, but the slowest success was in politics. She admitted, “Even this stronghold is beginning to yield to the long and steady pressure.” She called the past twenty-five years, progressive and said, “With the advantages already obtained, with the great liberalizing of public sentiment, and with the actual proof the results of enlarged opportunities for

women have been for the betterment of society, the next decade ought to see the completion of the struggle of the equality of the sexes.” This statement exemplifies why this dissertation was written, to show that through the efforts of Bradford and Colorado women, “opportunities for women have been for the betterment of society.” Anthony recognized the importance of women like Bradford, who worked for suffrage, organized women’s organizations, and took positions in public office, “There is an urgent demand for women of the highest character and intelligence, because the whole sex will be judged by the few who come forward to assume these new duties.” Anthony wrote in her article that with the successes of the few western states who had obtained the ballot, “The spirit of justice and freedom for all women cannot fail to descend upon all the Western and Northwestern States. No one who makes a careful study of this question can help but believe that, in a very few years, all the States west of the Mississippi river will have enfranchised their women” (1897, 902).

The years following women’s suffrage in Colorado, reports were published regularly on the progress of this state and Colorado women were active in the cause, realizing the importance continued local activism and of helping other states see the same suffrage victory. Doing so would guarantee new opportunities for men, women and children across the nation. Six years after the suffrage victory, an article (*Denver Republican*, February 26, 1899) discussed Colorado women’s active participation in women’s clubs to continue to influence change in their state.

The ballot which gave the women the right which they claimed, enlarged their field of opportunity, and now, associated together in club work, they are advancing along all lines, influencing in every direction and reaching every class of life. To the activity and development of these associations is due to a great

extend the remarkable success achieved by the women since they have been granted their franchise. Thus although the clubs are in no way directly connected with the political privilege granted the women in '93, they wield a mighty and powerful influence in political affairs. They form the fingers of the hand that is mending the fabric.

This article placed clubs as an important agent for change in the women's rights movement. Blair discussed the same thing in her book, *The Clubwoman as Feminist*. In response to the membership of the Sorosis and New England Woman's Club, two clubs established in 1868 that implemented the ideology of Domestic Feminism, Blair said,

The members were self-conscious, indeed, self-interested individuals who were ambitious for themselves and their sex. Beyond the sisterhood and self-confidence inspired in the membership, the clubs provided a forum where the demand for women's rights could be expressed. Members justified both self-improvement and action to erode sexism by invoking the domesticity and morality ladies were supposed to embody (1980, 15).

This acknowledgement of the benefits of women gathering together is the same thing that Bradford attempted in her writings and the article in the *Denver Republican* mentioned above tried to do, show that women working together in clubs made a positive impact on the suffrage campaign without giving up their femininity and moral ideals. Blair explained why these women would gather, "Not at the expense of the wholesome family, but because of the talents nurtured there, would clubwomen collaborate. They based their efforts to provide alternatives for women on the assurance that such work would make them better ladies rather than deserters of the home" (1980, 15). The clubs and women members had an influence on the causes they chose to support. As a result, certain clubs became politicized as it became evident that these clubs could make a difference in a political outcome, hence the formation of the

Democratic and other political women's clubs and the different suffrage and union organizations, such as NAWSA and the WCTU.

In March of 1899, an annual meeting of the Colorado Woman's Suffrage Association was held to address the election of officers. Mrs. T. M. Patterson, returning president, spoke to the members and iterated the importance of helping other states obtain suffrage victories,

Our free Western women cannot wholly enjoy alone the advantage of this acknowledged citizenship. For this the ties of sympathy with the kinswomen of the old Eastern homes are yet too vital. While without these personal ties the Western sense of justice would appeal so directly to the humanity of our young state that its enfranchised women could not forget the lingering injustice to women still legalized in so many other states. And so the extension of the suffrage reform remains the *idée fixe* of Colorado reformers (*Denver Post*, March 10, 1899).

Mrs. Patterson spoke of the many letters she received, from across the country and world, in which women wanted to know "the best methods of procedure in the direction of accomplishing equal suffrage." Her response to Colorado's members:

Our membership is larger this year than since 1893; for many our new voters who never fail to exercise their new privilege are recognizing the obligation of Colorado to assist more backward states in a reform so radical that the best interests of the whole country depend upon its success; and our associate effort is seen to be a necessary crystallization of the suffrage sentiment of the state.

Bradford was elected as a member of the national executive committee at this meeting.

The same year, another article was published on the, "Effect of equal suffrage in Colorado." Virginia Ellard wrote, "Although comparatively a new State and remote from many of the large social and business enterprises of the country, Colorado is a representative region in progress, development, and intelligence" (1899, 411). As an observer to the situation in Colorado, Ellard wrote on its women,

As far as I have been able to judge, the influence of the women of Colorado has been on the side of the law, order, justice, and morality. Nor is their sweet, gentle, loving nature or tender sympathy of heart going to seed by the additional opportunity afforded them of using their brains. These women are not crushing all the virility out of men, as it has been feared they would do, nor are they bustling, aggressive Amazons, ousting husbands and brothers out of positions whether they are obliged to earn a living or not. Neither do they constantly proclaim their independence with wild gesticulations and in vociferous tones, but, on the contrary, their political privileges have added a new glory to feminine character (1899, 411).

Again, this article by Ellard did the same thing that Bradford and others tried to do at this time, persuade other women to join the suffrage fight and let men know that if they vote to allow women the ballot, they will not “crush the virility out of men” or “oust” them out of positions that they already have. Ellard emphasized the feminine nature of women and talked about how the power to vote only enhanced a women’s character.

Ellard confirmed the motivation behind women in Colorado,

Women have risen above the petty aims which once characterized their sex to a just appreciation of those problems in life which affect humanity. Courage, loyalty, and patriotism are the motive powers that rule them, joined to a desire to purify, uplift, and strengthen the social and political forces into a stronghold where men and women can work together in the advancement of the human race (1899, 412).

This confirmation is another testament to the fact that through suffrage, Colorado women used their influence to better society.

Various articles continued to appear in support and against suffrage, often centering their praise and criticism on Colorado. There were several religious magazines being published at this time on a weekly or monthly basis that carried this debate, including *Outlook*, *Lippincott’s Monthly Magazine*, and *Friends’ Intelligencer*. Elizabeth McCracken published an article in 1903 against women’s suffrage in Colorado. A

rebuttal was written shortly after because McCracken's article "attracted much attention because the writer asserted that the women of Colorado have deteriorated morally since the right of suffrage was granted them." The claim that women have deteriorated morally was challenged in the new article, "They (women) have added to their dignity of life by their use of the ballot. They are conscientious, and have gained rather than lost in perspective of right and wrong" (*Friends' Intelligencer*, January 2, 1904).

McCracken claimed that women were not interested in offices other than county superintendent of schools but this was inaccurate as shown in this new article, "The office of greatest importance now filled by a women is that of State Superintendent of Public Instruction; and when the present incumbent was re-elected a large number voted for her who had opposed her at the former election" (1904, 3). The superintendent in question was Helen Grenfell, who had been State Superintendent since 1899. The debates written in nationally distributed religious magazines did not have an effect on Colorado because this state already had suffrage. However, the debate did serve a purpose in swaying support for or against suffrage in other states seeking the ballot.

The media continued to print the pros and cons of the suffrage and suffrage officials continued to fight for this right. Earlier, in February of 1900, the *Denver Times* (February 13, 1900), reported that the National Senate Suffrage Committee held a hearing in Washington to address the issues of both suffrage and anti-suffragists. Speakers included Susan B. Anthony, Mary C.C. Bradford, Harriet Stanton Black, (daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton), and Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, each presenting their views on different suffrage issues and events. The *Denver Times* reported that Mrs.

Bradford recounted the positive conditions in Colorado, quoting her statements about, “The improvement of conditions at the polls. There was a higher standard of candidates for public office. The women voters had improved themselves. There were 30,000 more women voters in Colorado than men” (1900).

In June of 1900, the *Denver Times* reported that Milwaukee held a biennial suffrage convention and sixty representatives from Colorado were present. One attendee said, “I heard many times that when a Colorado woman rose to speak it was evident she knew what she was talking about and spoke to some purpose.” In recognition of the Colorado delegates desire to vote the same on many issues, someone asked, “How is it you all hang together?” and a Colorado member replied, “Because, we have found out in Colorado that if we want to accomplish anything we must hang together, or as Benjamin Franklin remarked, ‘We will hang separately’.” The curiosity of the conventions attendees about the Colorado women and their practices continued as two women asked if Colorado women take their husband’s advice and if it was true that Colorado men “showed no respect or courtesy to women.” The Colorado women replied, “We receive so much consideration from them that we miss it when we go abroad” (*Denver Times*, June, 17, 1900).

Although in 1900 as Colorado was gaining a positive reputation as a suffrage success, the state and its citizen still had voting challenges. In August, an article (*Denver Times*, August 19, 1900) described the scene of women at the polling places, who were less than desirable,

If the good women of Denver could have seen the spectacle that has appeared in room 28 at the courthouse the past three or four days, the women of Denver

homes would come out and register to redeem this county and city from the corrupt and now in power. Carriage after carriage rolled up in front of the Tremont street entrance to the county building, bearing the gaudily attired, painted, brazen creatures of the half world to was registered and voted under the direction of the police officers and detectives of the city of Denver. Ladies from Capitol Hill and the residence portions of Denver who came to register were roughly jostled by these denizens of the tenderloin, whose breath, reeking with the fumes of rum, were not made more agreeable to the women from the sweet atmosphere of home were expended in anathema and vulgar language. These creatures were loaded into open vehicles like so many head of livestock and hauled through the principal streets of the city in such costumes, as the police are not supposed to permit upon any public thoroughfares, many of them in the long tabooed loose 'Mother Hubbards,' low cut, making indecent display which the lady clerks at registration booths were obliged to behold.

The article further urged the "Good Women of Denver" to get out and vote. Two days after this article was published, another one (*Denver Times*, August 21, 1900) was written entitled, "Woman and the Man." The article, claiming that women do not have "an active interest in politics" or "no deep thought to political affairs," believed that women will vote in an election if the candidate is a man that appeals to the opposite sex. The article said,

This year a new element of interest appeared in the campaign which appeals strongly to the feminine sex. All the world admires bravery and gallantry, but these characteristics have a particular fascination for womankind. The man who is courageous; who is strong in convictions, intellect and body; the man who dares and does; who is clean in heart, and upright in deed, and who is full of vigor and action – such a man wins woman.

This article although seeming to insult women, by claiming they had no interest in politics, is actually appealing to women to vote, emphasizing the emotional connection women have with the candidates with women generally vote for the more charming and civilized candidate. This argument would be beneficial to women who were afraid to vote, as to not be seen as too forward or aggressive, moving away from their traditional

values, but rather giving them a reason to vote – choosing a man of character to lead them and their families and in the process rid their cities of corruption and incivility.

Another article (*Denver Times*, August 21, 1900) claimed that Theodore Roosevelt was the type of man that would lure women to the polls,

The nomination of Theodore Roosevelt – cowboy, sportsman, athlete, gentleman and soldier, statesman, scholar and reformer – will bring to the Republican ticket thousands of votes in Colorado from women who have hitherto not voted at all or have not had little enthusiasm over politics.

Again, with this newspaper article, the author or media outlet was appealing to women.

Whatever their reason for voting, women continued to push for new legislation and demanded that candidates of their gender were placed in positions of importance.

The first woman was elected to the office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction in 1894 and woman continuously held this position until 1951. A woman in elected office was not as common as outside observers might think. Colorado women believed it was important to have a candidate of good moral character, despite the sex of the candidate. Eventually, women did want to see their own placed in positions of power.

An article was published (*Denver Times*, September 3, 1900) regarding the demand for a woman's placement on the ballot in the position of state Senator. The article said, "The women of Colorado want a state senator of their own sex." Citing the election of women to the office of state superintendent and other political offices, women agreed that men would lobby on their behalf but felt that men were more inclined to do their bidding when a woman was present. Also, the women of Colorado believed that men, although they want to help women, simply did not know what women want. The article mentioned that women were ready to let the men know that Colorado must have a

female member of the senate. In response to this request, one male politician, who did not wish to be named, said,

We can't afford to do it, but for Lord's sake don't mention my name as the one who said so. Why, those women will soon want the earth. As long as they dictate everything at home I should think they would be willing to let us dictate things downtown. I don't like it myself.

A friend asked him, "But what are you going to do about it?" He replied, "Let them have whatever they want. What else can be done? But, say, now promise me that you won't use my name in connection with this. It would kill me with the women voters forever" (1900).

That same month, an article (*Philadelphia Times*, March 24, 1901) was published and presented Susan B. Anthony's opinion of the suffrage victories in the West. She said, "We have four states – Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho, and Utah – which have lifted women onto an even plane with men outside of the state penitentiary and asylums, and on every Election Day they vote side by side with the men. That their presence at the polls and in the legislative halls has done very much to purify politics is attested by every candid person living in those states." Two months later, Anthony and other famous suffrage leaders traveled to Colorado to meet with local suffragists (*Denver Times*, May 10, 1901). Bradford's responsibility on this occasion was to show the out of town guests, including Anthony and Carrie Chapman Catt, around Denver.

The relationship between Bradford, other Colorado suffrage leaders and national leaders continued over the next twenty years. Bradford's involvement continued in various organizations and she was given different responsibilities. The *Denver Post* reported that she was named president of the National American Woman's Suffrage

Association (NAWSA) in 1901 but Susan B. Anthony passed down her position as president to Carrie Chapman Catt in 1900 so this is not likely true (*Denver Post*, January 15, 1938). In March of 1901, the Colorado Suffrage Association chose new officers, in which Bradford was named auditor. The Colorado Federation of Woman's Club named her president from 1902 to 1904. In 1902 she served as a delegate for this organization and attended the national suffrage convention in Washington, D.C. (*Denver Republican*, January 21, 1902). She also was listed in the media as becoming the Auditor for the General Federation of Women's Clubs and in the same publication her daughter was listed as a guest speaker of a local woman's club, "Miss Adele Bradford – One of the most talented elocutionists in Denver, who will appear before the North Denver Women's Club in some of her finest selections on Tuesday afternoon, March 4" (*Denver Times*, March 2, 1902).

In 1904, The National American Woman Suffrage Association met in Washington and elected a new president, Anna H. Shaw. An article published in *Denver Republican* (March 3, 1904) discussed the debate that occurred at this meeting and Colorado was included in the discussions,

At the Washington convention of the National Woman Suffrage Association a bomb was thrown, accusing the women voters of Colorado of "corruption," violation of the law" and "cheating at the polls." Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, former president of the National Woman Suffrage association, has replied to these allegations, entering a general denial.

This accusation of corruption and fraud likely referred to the outcome of the election of Colorado's Governor. The *Washington Times* reported on November 11, 1904, about this political situation, "While there seems to be certainty as to the defeat of Governor

Peabody in Colorado, the usual charges of fraud are being made. There is no particular reason for doubting that the charges are well founded. Fraud is regrettable to state, has always been a recognized part of the political system of Colorado.”

The article then provided background on Colorado politics, “The State, from the first, has been Republican, and, so, much of the crooked work has been in behalf of the candidates of rival factions within the party. At intervals the people have become disgusted and rebuked common practice by electing a Democratic governor” (1904). At this time, due to citizen unrest, parts of Colorado were under martial rule, under the leadership of Republican Governor Peabody. This meant that the military was helping to control areas that were unruly in the state. Much of this occurred in the mining camps. Rick Clyne discussed this problem, “Labor unrest erupted in Colorado’s coalfields every ten years, each time bringing violence and upheaval” (1999, 9). Miners would often join unions to improve their working environments. Clyne wrote that the coal companies would fire and expel any miner who was a member of a union. The companies also violated other civil rights by limiting the miner’s activities in the camps, not allowing them to move about and also by opening the miner’s mail without permission (9). A big strike occurred in 1902-1904, at the time of the election of the governor of Colorado.

The turmoil in the camps and the expulsion of workers from the camps and out of the state caused unrest with families, provoking women to speak out against this behavior. Some regarded Governor Peabody to be a good leader but others saw him as a “tyrant” and wanted him out of office due to his support of this unfair support of the mining companies and not the workers and families. Hence, Alva Adams, the

Democratic candidate was elected to the office of Colorado Governor, voters hoping for a change to this issue.

Colorado seemed to have gained a reputation for election corruption and again with the controversial governor's race, fraud was once again proclaimed. In response to these allegations, NAWSA President Anna Shaw replied:

That a number of men and women perpetrated frauds at a recent election in the city of Denver does not in any degree affect the justice of equal suffrage. The hysterical effort of a portion of the public press to claim that "women were the leaders in these frauds," and that "they participated in them in greater numbers than men," would be grotesquely absurd if it were not pitifully true that the man voting is one of the many symptoms of the real disease, which is more dangerous and disastrous to the life of our country than the dishonest political action of a few men and women..... That a few men were rude to and even brutal to some of the women voters of Denver is no more an argument against woman suffrage than the same incident occurring in married life is an argument against marriage (1904).

Hoping to persuade suffrage supporters across the nation that Colorado corruption was not a reflection of the suffrage outcome, she continued her support of Western states by saying:

With 35 years of full suffrage in Wyoming, with more than a score in Colorado, Idaho and Utah, with partial suffrage for several years in 26 other states, the fact that until this election but one woman has been convicted of fraudulent voting is a record of which woman suffragists may well be proud and which should inspire them with hope for the future (1904).

Despite the debate amongst citizens for or against suffrage in their states, many looked to Colorado as an example of progress in this area. Colorado demonstrated a successful campaign to win the vote for women, which was given credence by the hard work of the women themselves. Bradford's work in this movement was noticed in other states. In March 1904, the *Breckenridge News*, in Cloverport, Kentucky, announced that

she [Bradford] was president of the Colorado Federation of Woman's Clubs and said at the congressional hearings in Washington in February,

Instead of woman's influence being lessened by having a vote, it is greatly increased. There were so many members of the last Legislature who wanted to get their bills endorsed by the women that the Legislative Committee of our Federation had to sit one day in every week to give hearings to them. Women outside the equal suffrage States do not have this experience" (March 7, 1904).

In 1906, the *Ocala Banner* in Marion County, Florida, reported that Bradford was an American delegate to the International Woman's Suffrage meeting in Denmark and was accompanied by leading suffragists Carrie Chapman Catt and Anna H. Shaw (August 10, 1906). Bradford shared her expertise on suffrage and gained the respect of powerful suffragists. In an 1909 article, "Woman's Right to Govern Herself," Belmont recognized that, despite the fact that women in several western states had won the ballot, Colorado was often used as the example of its success and failure, "The seekers after the evidence against woman suffrage centre all their efforts on Colorado alone, ignoring the other three States where women vote" (Belmont, 1909, 670). The author recognized that despite the fact that many looked for proof against women suffrage by attempting to find fault in Colorado, there was significant testimony to its success and example,

Every Governor of whatever party, and other State officials, every United States Senator and member of Congress; all the Justices of the Supreme Court and other judges; the presidents of the colleges, bishops and presiding elders, and many presidents of women's organizations have declared in print over their own signatures, again and again, their approval of woman suffrage based upon its practical working in Colorado" (670).

Many authors wrote to validate or dispute the successes and failures of the Colorado suffrage victory of 1893. Many states without suffrage watched Colorado closely to see if they would succeed. Success was indicated by Colorado women keeping the ballot.

Colorado may have had its learning curve and mishaps along the way, such as the fraud and corruption accusations, but the true account of its success was what Colorado women were able to accomplish with this new freedom.

Previous authors have reported on the ability of women to improve the quality of candidates, to place themselves on the ballot, to win the approval and respect of men in their state by making sound decisions. Bradford, active in the suffrage campaign before and after the victory in 1893, wrote one of the first articles published after the win and years later published two more articles on the same topic. Her first of these articles was “Equal suffrage in Colorado,” which she prepared and was published by the Colorado Equal Suffrage Association. Bradford provided answers to questions asked by citizens curious about the happenings in Colorado that were seen in many of the above articles regarding whether or not women actually vote, whether or not the voting causes discontent in the family, and if Colorado women seek public office. More importantly, the article gave a list of the legislation introduced to the legislature by women, below is an example of legislation put forth for the betterment and improved quality of life of the citizens of the state:

1. Making mothers joint guardians of the children with the father
2. Raising the age of protection for girls to eighteen
3. Providing for the care of the feeble minded
4. Preserving Trees
5. Requiring in the public schools lessons in the humane treatment of animals
6. Establishing juvenile courts
7. Making education compulsory for all children between the ages of 8-16
8. Making it illegal to employ a child under fourteen
9. Requiring joint signatures of both husband and wife to every conveyance of homestead
10. Requiring that women shall work no more than eight hours a day on her feet (Bradford, 1908, 3).

Along with these measures, women helped to clean up their towns by passing ordinances that placed garbage cans on the corners, drinking fountains in the streets, seats at the street car stops, and forbade expectoration in public places. Laws were put into place that forbade the sale of liquor to minors, and the sale of cigarettes to those under sixteen.

Four years after the article written in 1908, Bradford wrote an updated article for the Colorado Suffrage Association. She reported on the progress of that time, including a sample of newly passed legislation,

1. Providing for the examination of eyes, ears, teeth, and breathing capacity of school children
2. Validating the wills of married women
3. Making it a felony to live on the earnings of the women of the town
4. Providing a monument in the cemetery for soldiers
5. Enacting the teacher's certification bill
6. Creating a child labor law
7. Creating an employer's liability law
8. Creating the miner's eight hour law
9. Creating a pure food law
10. Creating a law compelling a man to support his wife and children (Bradford 1912a, 2).

About the above laws Bradford wrote, "Surely such laws as the above, show a distinct advance in civilization and should make proud the women who helped pass them (1912a, 2). She said about the progress in the past years,

Taken all in all, the four years that have passed since the first edition of this outline was published have brought an appreciable increase in the number of those whose quickened consciousness responds to the call of civic duty, some extension of political power and an encouraging like-mindedness among representative women is manifesting with greater intensity as each year goes by.

It seems needless to reiterate that good citizenship has not interfered with skillful home making, and in the words of a well known Colorado man, "The best men and the best women, in Colorado, are glad that the women of this state can vote, and they believe that, as the years go on, the possession of the franchise will be

prized by more and more women, and the use to which they put it will be more and more admired by men (Bradford, 1912a, 3).

Bradford's two publications on suffrage in Colorado outline the successes seen by the state because of the suffrage victory. The efforts of Bradford and the other suffragists, both statewide and nationally, were focused on improving the lives of Colorado citizens.

Conclusion

Mary C.C. Bradford was involved in this Colorado campaign before 1893, she saw the victory occur, and stood at the polls the first time with other Colorado women in 1894. Bradford was not an ordinary woman. She was a leader and an example of what Colorado women accomplished. She was not the only woman leader in Colorado, but she made unique contributions to the state. She organized women, spoke to and wrote about suffrage to expand the message across the state and nation. She was a reliable and trusted advocate for suffrage and her influence was used by leading suffragists to spread the word about the positive effects of suffrage in her state. Bradford was raised from a family of public servants and she carried on this tradition by becoming a public servant in her own right. She believed in civic responsibility and she knew that she could make a difference for her family and her fellow citizens by expanding women's rights. She was successful at this mission and her entire life was spent helping to improve the quality of life and to provide opportunities for the betterment of society. Because of Bradford and the other suffragists, women and children experienced more opportunities through suffrage. These positive changes made life better for Colorado women and children and served as an example to the rest of the nation.

CHAPTER IV

OPPORTUNITY THROUGH EDUCATION

Introduction

Bradford committed her life to helping others. She fought for suffrage and women's rights to improve the lives of women and their children; she wrote publications that helped inform the general population on important issues, and was an educator to further improve the lives of children. Her efforts brought more opportunity to the women and children of Colorado. From her own education to her eventual employment in the schools, Bradford spent her life involved in education. As a teacher she affected the lives of her students. As a city, county and state superintendent her influence reached even further and with the respect that she earned and the positions she acquired, including being president of the National Education Association (NEA), her influence reached the entire nation and then the world when she was a member of the World Federation of Education Association. This chapter will discuss Bradford's work in education.

Bradford, in a 1913 speech written for the NEA, outlined her philosophy of education. She was newly elected to the office of Colorado State Superintendent of Public Instruction was active in the NEA and four years would be its president. She said, "To my thinking, education is the interpretation of life in the terms of truth, beauty, efficiency, and service" (1913, 70). She said that the application of educating children should be "the widest possible. To confine it merely to classroom problems is to limit and emasculate a vital philosophy, to cut off the power and purpose of a great profession from vivifying the life of the home and the community." Bradford believed the best way

to create a social transformation was cooperation between the school, home, the club, the newspaper and the labor union. She believed that uniting these groups and treating them like educational agencies would bring beauty, efficiency, and service to all, resulting in the “fullest individual development” of the child (71). Bradford’s philosophy gave insight into her thinking, as a result of what was happening in American life.

The Industrial Revolution brought a new focus to America with more people entering the work force and, as a result, the family image was changing. Not only were families changing but schools were also part of this change and discussion. At this time, schools were accused of not providing a nurturing environment. Tyack writes that in 1874, educators observed the lack of “family-nurture” in the United States and the decrease of moral influence from the family. The educators’ response was to stress more discipline in the schools. In contrast, Cubberley and Dewey believed that the family gave children a “rounded education,” which they believed the schools needed to imitate, rather than focus on more discipline (1967, 317). They saw much of the family influence disappearing during the Industrial Revolution but believed that the familial role was important in a child’s life. Dewey, in his work, “My Pedagogic Creed,” written in 1897, explained his belief in the importance of the community in education. He believed the school was an extension of the community and the home and education should represent real life. He wrote, “I believe that the school must represent present life - life as real and vital to the child as that which he carries on in the home, in the neighborhood, or on the play-ground” (1897, 78). He gave his reasoning, “I believe it is also a social necessity because the home is the form of social life in which the child has been nurtured and in

connection with which he has had his moral training. It is the business of the school to deepen and extend his sense of the values bound up in his home life” (78).

These thoughts were similar to what Bradford stated in her speech, that the school, the home, and the community were all connected. Dewey believed the school should follow the example of the home, believing the home had provided a good environment for children and the school should do the same. Bradford acknowledged that the school did not work alone, that family and community were crucial in educating a well rounded child. These beliefs were a common theme in progressive education, a departure from the earlier beliefs of educators that the school should be strict and disciplined place of learning.

A year after Colorado women received the right to vote, Bradford was nominated for the position of State Superintendent, although she did not win. This campaign began her efforts to be a leader in education in Colorado. During her six terms as state superintendent, which began in 1912, she continued progressive programs already started and initiated new programs to improve Colorado education and offer better opportunities for all citizens. The next section of this chapter will describe education in Colorado before Bradford was state superintendent.

The Beginning

Colorado gained statehood in 1876, the year Bradford was married and two years before she moved to Leadville. For fifteen years prior to statehood, Colorado was a territory of the United States. State officials were appointed by the national government, not elected by the people. A Colorado representative was sent to Congress but could

only debate issues and could not vote. Over these fifteen years, there was a debate for and against statehood, many were opposed, wanting to keep the territory the same, under the rule of officials in Washington D.C., but others wanted to see Colorado become a state, enabling them to vote for their own political representatives. Ubbelohde, Benson, & Smith wrote about the reasons for statehood, “The obvious advantages of change included the benefits of ‘home rule,’ the bolstering of local pride, a hoped-for influx of eastern capital to revive stagnated mining, and the advantages to be reaped from actual congressional representation” (1972, 134). On August 1, 1876, President Grant issued Colorado “the proclamation of statehood from the White House” (147). With statehood, Colorado men could elect their leaders.

By 1900, Colorado had 539,700 residents and Colorado officials had to focus on education (US Census Bureau, 1900). Major developments in education occurred at and after the turn of the twentieth century as the progressive movement across the nation reached the schools. An increase in population in Colorado and all across the United States made the awareness of educating the people a priority. Education was no longer just for the elite or wealthy. A belief in the common man led to educators using the schools for moral development and the birth of the common school. The common man represented the un-elite including, artisans, farmers & frontiersmen – common people. Colorado had its own influx of immigrants and laborers and had to educate the common man (Urban & Wagoner, 2004).

Education for the common man took place in the common school and educational historians date this movement from early to mid 19th century (Tyack, 1967;

Urban & Wagoner, 2004). Schools in Colorado began to educate all children, including the children of immigrants, and the focus was on making them better citizens; this plan was known as Americanization. In Colorado, many immigrants came to work in the mining industry. Clyne said, “Between 1890 and 1910, southern and eastern Europeans, and especially Italians, arrived in droves, markedly changing the ethnic composition and atmosphere of the [mining] camps” (1999, 44). The mining companies understood the importance of educating the children. Clyne reported that this was the case in coal camps in Southern Colorado, “A remarkable well-organized grade-school system was in place in Las Animas and Huerfano counties at the turn of the century... The first corporate-sponsored kindergarten opened in 1891” (89). Clyne acknowledged that one goal of opening kindergartens was to transform the immigrant children into American citizens, “Assimilation to ‘American’ norms was a general goal of the educational process, and it subtly underlay many school activities” (1999, 89). Dr. Richard Corwin, the head of Colorado Fuel and Iron Company’s Medical and Sociological departments, was responsible for creating this progressive school system, according to Clyne. Corwin’s reason for doing this was “to instill in the children a much stronger and more uniform sense of ‘American’ values than those held by their immigrant parents,” and “Corwin wanted his department to begin shaping the next generation of miners and miners’ wives” (1999, 89). Therefore, if mining companies believed that educating children would provide a stronger work force in the future, they would spend the money necessary to make this happen by initiating progressive school programs in their coal camps, such as kindergartens and high schools.

The acknowledged father of the common schools was Horace Mann. The son of a successful Massachusetts farmer, Mann was educated in the local school district, became a lawyer and was elected into several political positions. He eventually accepted a position as secretary on the Massachusetts State Board of Education and he spent the next dozen years reforming the schools of his state. Mann's ideology was different and progressive than the traditional views of the past. His vision for schools was referred to as "Protestant Republicanism" as these schools had Protestant traits and values (Tyack & Hansot, 1982; Kaestle, 1983; Urban & Wagoner, 2004).

Mann, as well as other common school reformers, believed that moral education played an important role in the common school curriculum. As economic and social changes were rapidly occurring at this time, reformers believed that, "moral improvement could heal the divisions" caused by these changes (Urban & Wagoner, 2004, 105) and that through the common school's progress would "vindicate American faith in education" (Tyack, 1967, 125). Others did not feel this way and rejected the idea that school reform could fix these problems. Mann believed in the Pestalozzian method of teaching – a child-centered approach which was different than the traditional methods being taught in schools. His methods were considered more "soft" as compared to the more strict teaching methods of the time that included memorization and recitation (Gutek, 1968; Katz, 1968; Urban & Wagoner, 2004). Mann's main opposition was from the Boston Grammar Schoolmasters who did not agree with his methods.

Out of Mann's new common school movement came many changes but one of the most notable was the increasing number of female teachers. This happened for

several reasons. First, female teachers were more available for teaching positions, as many of them moved from their homes in the country to the big cities looking for better opportunities and financial security. Second, they were hired at a lower salary than men making them desirable replacements. Teaching was a respectable job for women as many men thought teaching was similar to the domestic roles of nurturing young children that they had always undertaken. Women were considered naturally nurturing so they were desirable candidates to teach the young children (Tyack & Hansot, 1990).

Mann's Pestalozzian, child-centered pedagogy was new and progressive and he could train the female teachers this new way of teaching. The old way of teaching that the schoolmasters promoted did not need any new training – only that the teacher knew and understood the subject matter and could teach the children through repetition. There were differing opinions on both methods and the common school era saw more state and local involvement in educational matters.

The common school was a positive move forward for education, but it did not come without controversy or problems. Other issues arose that leaders had to address including social class, religion and gender. A new school of thought forced more progressive ways of thinking. Some thought that the common school was a way in which the higher class could control the lower class while appearing to give the lower class advancement through education. Religion was an issue when Catholics protested the policies of the nondenominational group that ran the public schools. They found a solution by allowing schools to differ in their policy depending on which neighborhood or district the school was located in. Catholic neighborhoods had more Catholic

influence in their schools and Protestant neighborhoods the same (Tyack, 1974; Finkelstein, 1989; Urban & Wagoner, 2004).

As the common school operated for all children, girls were allowed in the common school systems. Common school advocates saw this system as an extension of the family so the addition of girls to school was a logical step. Therefore female teachers as nurturers were a welcome addition to the teaching force (Urban & Wagoner, 2004; Tyack & Hansot, 1990). Men were seen as the disciplinarians, teaching mainly in high school and coveted administrative positions while women remained in the lower grades.

Although girls were allowed in the common schools, other opportunities were available for them in the form of seminaries, academies and smaller types of colleges (Cott, 1977; Kerber, 1980; Kaufman, 1984). . In addition to the common school, these institutions provided another avenue for educating women – an idea that was increasingly becoming popular in society as Americans realized the benefits that education brought. This included the need to raise virtuous citizens and for women to be ideal Christian wives, mothers and teachers. Some parents found education to be a safe place to keep their “indulged” daughter under control, occupied and ready for marriage (Solomon, 1985, 17). Part of this change for the schooling of girls came from women leaders advocating for this right. Girls attended these institutions which were led by famous female reformers such as Mary Lyon, Catharine Beecher and Emma Willard (Urban & Wagoner, 2004; Solomon, 1985).

The influence of female reformers had a lasting impact on women’s education. Catharine Beecher, educated in her own home, opened the Hartford Female Seminary

and later opened the Western Female Institute – both focused on an academic curriculum rather than a social agenda. She published her home, social and educational ideas, providing an expanded view of women's roles in society. Emma Hart Willard, educated in her home and later in local school districts, started a boarding school in her home which was located in Vermont. She too emphasized an academic curriculum which focused on liberal arts similar to that found in male colleges. She believed that women should be educated by women. Later, in 1821, she moved and opened the Troy Seminary (Urban & Wagoner, 2004). Education was used for both the teaching of academics and of equal importance; education was used for preparing women for the traditional roles of domesticity. Despite the reason, women entered education in great numbers – changing higher education.

Another female reformer, Mary Lyon, taught herself and then began teaching others. She and a fellow teacher, Zilpah Grant, sought support from the local community to open a teaching institution. Eventually money was raised and Mount Holyoke was opened. Through their hard-working efforts this college raised enough money to provide a low-cost education to young women and proved to be a great success (Sklar, 1973; Solomon, 1985).

The advancement of education for women throughout the 19th century provided much debate but regardless of the reasons for deliberation, these new educational ventures proved to be a successful. More educational opportunities were available for women during this century and the male schools were used as templates to create new systems for females. The challenge for females was how to use their new knowledge to

better their roles as women, socially, traditionally and professionally. Women gained confidence and began to see them involved in the debate over their place in women's "sphere" (Welter, 1966; Cott, 1977; Solomon, 1985).

Education for women eventually was more widely accepted by the end of the 19th century and had a positive influence on other areas. Men began to see educated women as desirable mates. Educated women could better run the home and raise the children. As women began to separate themselves from their dependence on their family they began to rely more on their own self, taking more important and active roles in business, politics, and community affairs (Cott, 1977; Solomon, 1985; Woloch, 2000). Women's rights and the suffrage campaign continued into the 20th century and educated women led these crusades by writing and speaking on the behalf of other women. The turn of the century found women seeking more important positions outside of the home, including into higher positions within the schools. Some women saw their education as a reason not to marry, allowing them to pursue other interests or careers. Women chose paths that led them to help others, such as social work. For example, in 1889, Jane Addams opened Hull House in Chicago, Illinois, and other women had similar vocations that led them to volunteer work or political activism. Women took jobs in nursing, libraries and other positions that were perceived as a service to their communities (Kessler-Harris 1982; Solomon 1985; Evans 1989).

The same year that the Bradford family moved to Leadville, Colorado, in 1878, the *First Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction* was published in Colorado by Joseph C. Shattuck, State Superintendent, and gave, among other reports,

and gave an actual account of schools in Leadville (Lake County) shortly before Bradford's employment as a schoolteacher. According to the report, teacher's wages had declined slightly but Superintendent Shattuck was sure that the wages would again rise as the state continued to prosper. Male teachers made \$49/month on average in Colorado while female teachers made a little less at \$47/month (Shattuck, 1878, 10). She would have needed a teaching certificate. Because each exam was administered by the county superintendent, exams might differ from county to county, therefore, the State Board of Education mandated in 1877 that all questions would come from the office of State Superintendent (1878, 16).

After the mandate in 1877, teacher exams were more professional and were included in the biennial reports. In 1900, the report states, "In the preparation of the county examination questions, the Superintendent had requested the assistance of a number of prominent and practical educators in different parts of the state, believing that a fairer test could be obtained than by means of an examination which was the work of one mind" (Grenfell, 1900, 10). The 1906 biennial report by Katherine L. Craig reports that the exam is offered three times a year, which creates a heavy workload for her office and the county superintendents. She requested in this report that the exams was given twice a year, rather than, three times, one given in December and one in August. This recommendation was not adopted and exams continued to be administered three times a year.

In the 1912 biennial report, Helen M. Wixson recommended that exams be graded by her office rather than by the county superintendents. She wrote, "In order that

the grading of teachers' examination papers may be uniform, and that the certificates issued may be of equal value in each county of the state, I recommend that these papers be graded in the office of the state superintendent of public instruction by a board of examiners" (1912, 8). The examinations in Colorado changed over the years. They went from being made by the county superintendents to being made by the state superintendent after 1877. Although the county superintendent still distributed the exams, the exam questions came from the state superintendent's office. Shattuck made note of this change in his 1879 biennial report, "The State Board of Education decided, in August 1877, that it was best the Superintendent of Public Instruction should issue uniform questions to all counties. The first list was issued for quarterly examination on the last Saturday in August, 1877, and the plan met with very cordial approval for the most part from all interested and has been continued at this time" (Shattuck, 1879, 16). This made them exam questions more equal and consistent.

Leadville, located in Lake County, was where Bradford resided and taught school. In 1878, the county reported seventeen total teacher examinations taken, four teachers were male and thirteen female (1878, 35). There were 493 persons in Lake County between the ages of six and twenty-one, with 276 reported as being in school attendance. This was a good percentage of school age persons, 82% in school, whereas, the state average was 58% (37). This strong school attendance compared to the state average, could indicate mining company involvement or strong education ethic in the community. Bradford, an educated person herself, would have wanted to see her children

in schools so other parents, coming from the East to seek their fortunes in mining could have felt the same way, insisting their children be educated.

Ten teachers were reported employed in Lake County in 1878 (two male/eight female) with the male salary reported as \$45 and the female salary as \$44.55, which was just below the state average, and eight school buildings reported in use (39-40). This data gave a better picture of what Bradford may have experienced as a teacher in Leadville. If Bradford indeed had to teach school to supplement her family income, this information gives the reader a better idea of what she would have been paid, the type of certification needed, and the number of school children in the county.

In 1891, Bradford and her family relocated to Colorado Springs, where she became known as a lecturer and teacher. She accepted a position as a faculty member of the Colorado Summer School and worked in the department of Sociology. She lectured on labor and work issues and gave lectures at the school on the Literature of the Eighteenth Century, The Tendency of Modern Art, and Social Transformations. She delivered speeches on “The Comparative Merits of German, French, English and American Public Schools” (*Colorado School Journal*, 1894, 57).

In late 1893, Bradford and her family left Colorado Springs and relocated, this time to Denver. There she organized the Colorado Women’s Democratic Club. She was involved in the Democratic Party and her contributions were recognized at the 1894 Colorado Democratic convention when she was nominated for the office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction, the first female in the United States to be nominated for a constitutional elective office by the Democratic Party (*Rocky Mountain*

News, November 15, 1933). She ran against two other women, Mrs. A.J. Peavey (Republican) and Miss Alice M. Catlin (Populist), and one man, Mr. A.B. Copeland (Prohibition). Mrs. Peavey won the election, becoming the first woman State Superintendent in Colorado. The *Colorado School Journal* profiled the candidates and described Bradford, “Mrs. Bradford was a conspicuous figure from the beginning of the campaign” and in personal appearance, “She is very attractive. Of slender form and delicate feature, she impresses every one she comes in contact with her exquisite womanliness” (1894, 57).

Bradford continued to be active in the Democratic Party and in the suffrage movement. In 1894, she joined the Clio Club and founded the Women’s Club of Denver (*Rocky Mountain News*, January 16, 1938). It not known exactly what the “Clio Club” was, but the word “Clio” is derived from the Greek word History so presumably this could be a club that focused on some sort of history. She was the state organizer for the National Democratic Committee and the next year was the founder of the Colorado Federation of Women’s Clubs where she served as president from 1902-1906 (Stone, 1918; *Rocky Mountain News*, January 16, 1938). In 1899 she was a member of the National Executive Committee of the Woman’s Suffrage Association, a member of the Colorado Suffrage Association and was sent as their delegate to the Democratic national convention in 1901 (*Denver Republican*, March 24, 1901).

In 1902 she organized the Jane Jefferson Democratic Club and, later, served as its president from 1913 to 1921. She also was placed on the Democratic ticket for a position on the board of regents at the State University [The article did not specify which

State University] (*New York Times*, September 12, 1902), but did not get elected. The same year she was on the executive board of the Colorado Woman's Association (*Denver Republican*, January 21, 1902) and at the end of 1902 she became Adams County Superintendent for one term (1903-1904). Adams County was a new county and Bradford was its first County Superintendent. She would have run for a second term but was not nominated because of political reasons,

Brighton, Colo. Sept. 16 – As the result of a deal made between the leaders, the Adams County Democratic convention yesterday afternoon shelved Superintendent of Schools Mrs. Mary C.C. Bradford, who was candidate for renomination, in favor for Mrs. Catherine Cook, wife of the present assessor. Cook was also a candidate for the renomination, but the friends of E.B. Moore demanded something for their man, so the assessor was sidetracked, but not before the leaders agreed to nominate his wife for superintendent of schools (*Denver Post*, September, 16, 1904, 10).

During and after her position as Adams County Superintendent, Bradford remained active in various organizations and appointments. In 1903 she was president of the Colorado State Federation of Women's Clubs, a member of the Democratic State Central Committee of Colorado, and was appointed by the Governor as a member of the State Traveling Library (Getz, 2004, 58). In 1904, she attended the convention of the National Business Women's League, held in New York City, and was named a member of the Board of Directors (*New York Times*, August 16, 1905).

In 1908, Bradford attended the Democratic National Convention held in Denver. She was chosen as the voting delegate for presidential candidate, W.J. Bryan and one of only a few women to attend this national convention and was the only female voting delegate (*New York Times*, June 17 1908). She continued her work in educational leadership and service and was Denver County Superintendent from 1909 to 1912 (Getz,

1994, 58). Interestingly, she did run for State Superintendent in 1910 against Katherine M. Cook. This was reported in the *Deseret News*, a Salt Lake City newspaper,

A feature of unusual interest is the contest for the nomination as superintendent of public instruction. In Colorado this office is conceded to the women and hitherto they have been able to agree on some one of their sex.

This time, although Mrs. Katherine M. Cook of Brighton, the incumbent, has been endorsed by practically every school superintendent and educational institution in the state, a considerable number of women and around Denver are opposed to her.

Mrs. Helen Robinson, writer and club women, and Mrs. Mary C.C. Bradford, a pioneer in the suffragist movement in Colorado, have announced their intention of contesting with Mrs. Cook for the office (September 14, 1910).

Bradford lost this election and remained Denver superintendent. She ran for State Superintendent again in 1912 and won.

During her tenure as Denver superintendent she wrote letters about different issues, ranging from Colorado suffrage to the quality of the teachers in Colorado. She was often asked to speak at events. On February 2, 1911, she wrote a letter to Colorado State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Helen Wixson and accepted a request to speak at an upcoming meeting, “I accept the invitation to respond to the address of welfare at the meeting of the State Association of City Superintendents on March 28th” (Bradford to Wixson, February 11, 1911, Colorado State Archives, Box 12800, p. 90).

As Denver superintendent, Bradford hired teachers for her schools. Her daily correspondence while in this office showed her actions in this process by recruiting teachers from the nearby colleges and her recommendations of qualified teachers to other schools. On May 25, 1911, Bradford wrote a letter to the graduating teachers in Colorado. She said, “My books contain the applications of many graduates of our state

university and normal school. These always receive the first consideration of the placement of teachers” (Colorado State Archives, Box 12800, p. 176). Letters in July of 1911, contain recommendations by Bradford of several female teacher applicants. One woman, Mrs. Grace Speigal, had a master’s degree from Wyoming. Another woman, Mrs. Mary E. Wright, was recommended by Bradford. She had three to four years teaching experience, a master’s degree and was a young widow with a thirteen year old daughter. According to Bradford’s personal letters, Mrs. Wright’s sister visited Bradford on her behalf and Bradford wrote her a letter of recommendation. She then sent a letter to Mrs. Wright letting her know what she forwarded on her recommendation (Box 12800, p. 208, 215-216).

A letter dated November 6, 1911, to the President of the State Teachers Association asked for the privilege of appearing before the association in order to speak on behalf of a resolution endorsed by the Women’s Club of Denver, the Colorado Equal Suffrage Association and the Colorado Federation of Women’s Clubs, all groups Bradford was or had been involved in (Box 12800, p. 245). During Bradford’s term as Denver city superintendent, she used her office to continue to improve the quality of the teaching force in Colorado, spread the positive word of the suffrage victory in this state, and speak on behalf of different organizations, bringing together the schools and community to better the conditions for women and children in her state. She planned to run for a second term as Denver Superintendent but her plans changed.

In 1912, as she was running for re-election as county superintendent, an article in the *Denver Times* celebrated her and called her a “fine educator” in Colorado,

Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford, probable candidate on the Democratic ticket for re-election for county superintendent of schools is one of the most widely known clubwomen, educators and suffrage leaders, not only in Colorado but throughout the United States.

Mrs. Bradford was the only woman delegate to the national Democratic convention held in Denver four years ago and had lectured on educational, political and suffrage subjects in every state in the union. She occupied the chair of literature at Colorado University at one time, and has done much to improve the county school system during her two terms of office. Mrs. Bradford is one of the finest parliamentarians of the West; and is now giving a course of lectures on this subject to the pupils of Miss Wolcott's school.

Her re-election will be on the fine and even brilliant record heretofore made in this field of educational work. Mrs. Bradford is a well known member of the Denver Women's Club (*Denver Times*, April 22, 1912).

That year, rather than being reelected as Denver County Superintendent, she ran for the office of Colorado State Superintendent of Public Instruction and was elected as the sixth female in Colorado's history.

Colorado's office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction has a unique history. In 1876, when Colorado gained statehood, Shattuck was the first elected State Superintendent. Other males served in this position until 1894, when Peavey was elected State Superintendent. For the next fifty-six years, until 1951, when the office changed from being elected to appointed and a man was placed in this position, women continuously held this office. During the next 56 years, several issues continued to challenge the Superintendents. Consolidation of rural schools, standardization of school facilities and curriculum, salary levels for teachers and the superintendent, and the nature and duties of the Superintendent's office appear repeatedly in the biennial reports. Bradford encountered these issues and helped to make the schools of Colorado more progressive and efficient – improving the conditions of the schools and providing more

opportunities to the children of the state. The next sections of this chapter presents the major initiative that Bradford inherited, consolidation of rural schools, and two other programs she initiated during her tenure as state superintendent, including the state standardization plan, and the Americanization of school children.

Consolidation of Rural Schools

Tyack wrote, “During the nineteenth century the country school belonged to the community in more than a legal sense: it was frequently the focus for people’s lives outside the home.” These schools were used for more than educating children, which Tyack acknowledged, “ministers met their flocks, politicians caucused with the faithful, families gathered for Christmas parties and hoe-down (1974, 16). Country or rural schools were important to their communities. Tyack called the school “a kind of young extended family,” but unlike the family, rural schools did not follow specific rules. Attendance was irregular, the quality of teaching would vary dependent upon the experience and education of the teacher, and the buildings, equipment, and supplies would vary from school to school. Without a common set of regulations by the district or state, rural schools were inconsistent in their education of children.

Beginning in the 1890’s, reformers sought to change rural schools across the nation. Tyack said that reformers felt, “The ‘bookish’ curriculum, haphazard selection and supervision of teachers, voluntary character of school attendance, discipline problems, diversity of buildings, and equipment,” were symptoms of a deeper problem – the schools were being run by local citizens and lacked proper supervision. The National Education Association appointed a Committee of Twelve on Rural Schools,

comprised of school professionals. The committee, in their 1897 report, suggested the following solutions, “consolidation of schools and transportation of pupils, expert supervision by county superintendents, ‘taking the schools out of politics,’ professionally-trained teachers, and connecting the curriculum ‘with the everyday life of the community’” (Tyack, 1974, 23). This was the beginning of the movement that proceeded slowly and fitfully, the transition from schools being run by the community to the schools being controlled by the state and supervised by a county superintendent.

In 1898, Colorado State Superintendent, Grace E. Patton, addressed the state of rural schools,

Colorado’s rural schools are the pride of the state. They have been acknowledged to be the best conducted of any, east or west, north or south. In mountain heights and remote valleys they are equally progressive. They command the finest teachers, they are equipped with the most modern apparatus, and they are in touch with the graded schools of the cities (Patton 1898, 11-12).

Two years later, the next state superintendent, in her biennial report, Helen L. Grenfell, presented a less rosy view of the rural school situation. She wrote,

It is here that we are confronted by the greatest difficulties, and here that we may do our greatest work. The bone and sinew of the great national frame have always come from the country. Many of our young people are acquiring their educational solely in the district school, and it is our high duty to see to it that the best conditions possible for us to obtain are theirs.

The schools and towns of the cities of Colorado are properly ranked among the best in the land, and our rural schools compare favorably with similar schools elsewhere. But it is not enough that our country schools compare favorably with the country schools of other communities situated similarly to ourselves. There are both room and opportunity for improvement (Grenfell, 1900, 7).

She did not say that schools were no longer “the pride” of Colorado, and admitted that the rural schools “compare favorably with similar schools elsewhere,” but she did

recognize that the rural schools could be better. She addressed a series of problems regarding the rural schools of Colorado, including, unequal taxation, short and unequal school terms, unequal equipment, untrained and poorly paid teachers, small schools, and lax supervision. Grenfell's solution to the problems in her report was to model the method of administration of rural schools after that of city schools. She recommended the abolition of the "district system" to be replaced with a new county system of administration, which would have one board of directors for the entire county (1898, 17). These early biennial reports show the immediate concern for the change in the rural school systems of Colorado.

States were consolidating and in 1902, *Outlook* published an article on this issue, including the states which had already begun the process of consolidating schools. The article said,

The seventeen states besides Kansas which rural school consolidation is authorized are Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin, Iowa, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Florida (*Outlook*, December 27, 1902).

This problem was one faced across the nation. An article in 1908, Probst discussed the state of rural consolidation in other states. Massachusetts was one of the first states to consolidate rural schools in 1875. Other Eastern states followed and eventually the rest of the nation followed with similar plans. In 1908, North Dakota reported fifteen consolidated schools, Georgia claimed only one, but Iowa reported more than half of their counties had been consolidated. Probst lists the same positive reasons that Grenfell warranted for consolidation but included other reasons such as, "a more healthy social

spirit in the school and community,” citing the fact that rural and village children had a better chance to “mingle,” and that parents and teachers got to know each other better. Also, better roads were in place for the transportation of more school children, which everyone who traveled these roads could appreciate.

Ohio was very progressive on this matter and in 1908 reported approximately 200 consolidated schools (Probst, 1908, 3). Ohio addressed this problem ten years prior in the local media. The *Ohio Farmer* (May 5, 1898) reported on this issue and one of its benefits, “Consolidation of district schools would likely further some plan of state unification, for the systematic grading would demonstrate its own advantages.” A year later, another article in the *Arena* also addressed Ohio’s consolidation concerns, “Those who have any acquaintance with district schools know that their advantages are meager, as compared with those of the town or city school. There are thousands of these rural schools which furnish their pupils scant preparation of the duties of life” (Erf, 1899, 61).

Although there were many positive aspects of consolidation, there were objections to the plan. One of the main concerns outlined by Probst was the abandonment of the old school buildings. He said the objection was based mostly on tradition but also on the higher taxes of the new building. There was a concern by some citizens that when a school was abandoned near their home that their property values would decrease. Other issues included parents upset that their children were farther from home and en route to school longer than before, which caused them to rise earlier in the morning, and the children having to eat cold meals during the day (Probst, 1908, 15).

In subsequent Colorado biennial reports, rural schools continue to face challenges. In 1910, State Superintendent, Katherine M. Cook reported discrepancies still evident between city and rural schools, “While children in populated districts have nine months of school, thousands of children in rural districts have, have only from three to six months,” and she said, “Outside of cities and towns, a comparatively small percentage of our boys and girls have the opportunity for high school education” (1910, 8). She recommended that a county organization plan, similar to the request of Grenfell twelve years before, and believed this would bring equal conditions to both city and rural schools. She suggested in her report that these changes would encourage the “consolidation of rural schools, and promote simplicity and economy of administration, and would eliminate in a great degree the evils of the present system” (8). The biennial report in 1912, following Cook’s recommendation of consolidation reported the first consolidated school in Colorado.

The Appleton Consolidated School in Mesa County was the first consolidated school district in Colorado – dedicated in 1912. This new school building replaced two smaller one and two room schoolhouses. The new building cost twelve to fifteen thousand dollars to build. State Superintendent, Helen M. Wixson, in the *18th Biennial Report* addressed the positive aspects of consolidation, including the availability of longer terms, less financial waste, higher attendance, and better educational rights for students. More qualified teachers with higher pay were another benefit of consolidation. The one roadblock that she admitted to facing was gaining support of this venture with the citizens of the state. She said, “Schools are never better than the community wishes,

and any advance movement is doomed to failure unless the community is educated to it” (Wixson, 1912, 21).

Other schools in Colorado began to consolidate after 1912, including Pueblo County which reported two consolidated schools, with 230 children in attendance. El Paso County reported one consolidated school with 150 students and the superintendent wrote the following, “The health of the children is better. They are in better physical condition to study and attendance is improved” (Wixson, 1912, 21). Sedgwick County had two consolidated schools and reported, “Better school work done, better attendance, better discipline, better everything” (21)! The consolidation of schools took root in Colorado just as Wixson’s term was ending and a new superintendent was taking office.

Bradford inherited the problem of improving rural schools when she won the seat of State Superintendent in the general election of 1912. Bradford had run for the same office almost twenty years before but had since gained much experience. In a pamphlet published by the Democratic Party, Bradford explained why she would be a good choice for this office and gave a personal look into her thoughts,

First, I believe that administrative experience in school affairs is a prerequisite of success in the conduct of this office. For five years and a half I have served as a school official, my apprenticeship as county superintendent of schools has taken place in Adams County, from the close of 1902 to the beginning of 1905; and my term as county superintendent of schools in the City and County of Denver extending from January 1909, to June 1912. This experience, bringing me in touch with both rural and city schools, has been a valuable preparation for the promotion I am now seeking.

There are many points of contact between the school life and the club life of the state of Colorado. Women’s clubs and the teaching profession can each supplement the efforts of the other for an advanced education and progress in sociological matters.

My experience as chairwoman of the social science department of the Woman's Club of Denver, as president of the Colorado Federation of Woman's Clubs and as general federation secretary for Colorado, has shown me how the schools and the voting mothers who form the membership of the clubs may cooperate for the benefit of the commonwealth.

In the stormy year of '93 I fought for the political enfranchisement of women, and I have been on the firing-line ever since, in all movements for the betterment of women and children (Bradford, 1912b, 6).

The last statement, confirms the purpose of this dissertation - Bradford's motive throughout her life was to improve the lives of women and children. She admitted that this was her motive in suffrage involvement and it remained her goal throughout her career in education. She won the 1912 election and her position gave her the power to carry out her mission.

Rural schools were consolidating across the country and this was an important issue for states. In 1913, Bradford wrote and gave a speech for the National Education Association. In her speech she addressed the issue,

Rural education, with which this session is chiefly concerned, and with which department of education lies my own most direct connection, must concern itself with the translating the work of the school into the language of the home and the community. The classroom work of the country child should be such as to give a meaning, a purpose, and a unity to the hours spent in the farmhouse and in the field. And when this clarified vision has become his, the work of the school should lead him to see and feel the vital connection between his own environment and opportunity and the enlarged environment and opportunity of his community, state, and nation (1913b, 71).

During her first term as state superintendent (1913-1914) she spent time adjusting to her new position. She inherited initiatives already begun, such as, the consolidation of rural schools. She acknowledged in her first report that this was a huge task, "The department has also laid plans for the standardization of the rural schools, and

this task alone means an immense amount of work for the Superintendent and almost incessant clerical labor” (1915c, 3). In 1916, the Colorado State Survey Committee requested that a study was completed by the United States Bureau of Education on the school systems of Colorado. Katherine M. Cook, Assistant in Rural Education to the Bureau helped A.C. Monahan, the Bureau’s specialist in rural education, complete this study. They spent time in Colorado conducting this survey, as reported in the *Colorado School Journal*,

Mrs. Katherine M. Cook, former state superintendent of schools, and A.C. Monahan, federal expert on the government of rural schools, will assist the state survey committee in its investigation of the school system of Colorado as part of the general survey of all state government activities. The department of public instruction, under Mary C.C. Bradford, will also participate in the work. Mrs. Cook is not connected with the United States department of education (1916, 40).

The study, completed and published in 1917, described the current structure of rural schools in Colorado, described as schools with less than 350 children,

The third-class districts include all of the rural and small village schools. Each second and third class district has a board of three elected directors; one of whom is elected each year. These boards employ teachers, determine the length of the school term, adopt the course of study, select textbooks, have charge of the school property; in fact they have sufficient control to make the school as good or as poor as they may wish (Department of the Interior, 1917, 10).

The Bureau made the following recommendations specifically for the rural schools,

1. Living conditions for rural school teachers should be improved and salaries raised, so that trained and capable teachers for rural schools may be secured and retained.
2. Schools should be consolidated wherever practicable and transportation of children provided when necessary, in order to secure better educational facilities than the organization of one-teacher schools permits (1917, 13).

Other recommendations were made for the rest of the schools in Colorado, all suggestions that Bradford supported and implemented in her years as superintendent -

increased qualifications for teachers, better facilities for training teachers and for educating children, more regular attendance, an adapted course of study, and a law providing free textbooks were all suggestions made in the Twentieth Biennial Report. Bradford used these recommendations to make improvements (Bradford, 1915c).

In 1917, she wrote a speech for the National Educational Association on the issue of rural schools, entitled, “Some phases of the rural-school problem,” where she presented her views on the issues with rural schools in America. She said, “The rural-school problem as a whole is practically one with the great problem of America’s function in modern civilization.” She acknowledged that more than one half of the nation’s children attended rural schools. Because of this large number she said, “Therefore it is easy to see the importance of giving to the majority of the school population of our country such advantages as will enable them to become worthy to transmit the best traditions of American life and thought to future generations.” Bradford continually worked in her career to better society and to provide more opportunities for all. In the cause of rural school improvement, she felt the same way, “Ample educational opportunities for all country children must be afforded by any school system claiming to do efficient work” (1917b, 650).

In her speech she again looked to improve the situation of children, the community and teachers. She declared that the children should have proper school facilities, “instruction from professionally trained teachers,” and that the community should be able to use the building “for all the purposes tending to enrich the community life and to tighten the bond of community unity” (650). She said that the teacher was

entitled to an adequate salary that covers the cost of living and demands of the job and should have “a home environment of comfort, added to at least a modicum of beauty, to the end that hours of preparatory work and leisure may be spent in beauty may be spent in congenial surroundings.” Bradford proposed that these challenges be met through a national campaign of education on these matters and advocated the demonstration of the principal methods of rural-school betterment: the county unit or administration, the great numbers of consolidated schools, and in all cases, standardization, which was her next major initiative in Colorado.

Consolidating rural schools into better, more efficient schools was a goal but it was also important to provide adequate new school facilities. In 1918, Bradford published a book, “Rural School Architecture: Plans and Suggestions for One- and Two Room School Houses With and Without Assembly Halls.” Bradford explained the purpose of this book,

The book is published in the interest of better school buildings in the rural districts of Colorado. The practice of school architecture has been well established and standardized by experience; and the plans shown in this book have been selected to illustrate the application of the more important standards of school planning to the small rural school (1918b, 2).

The plans for the buildings included assembly halls which served a dual purpose, “The auditoriums or assembly rooms in some of these plans are not intended for the pupils of the school alone, but also for public meeting of the people of the district” (2).

Careful consideration by Bradford and her department was given to these school buildings. The orientation of the buildings and placement of the windows were important so that the rooms would receive the maximum amount of light. Attention was given to

the size of the rooms, the wardrobes for storage, the floors, the blackboards, the heat and ventilation and the “sanitariums” [quotes in original] (Bradford, 1918b, 2). The book contained pictures and floor plans of one and two room school houses and included plans for playground equipment. This book was another attempt by Bradford and her department to provide a better environment and school experience to the students of Colorado.

Along with providing better and more efficient schools, Bradford wanted to make the schools of Colorado more professional and more cohesive as a unit. She gave credit to the increasing number of people going to college and receiving degrees, the enactment of positive initiatives, such as, the Reading Circle, and the raising of standards for obtaining teacher certification as part of the cause for Colorado’s progress. The Teachers’ Reading Circle was introduced before Bradford’s first term. This program was not reported in the 1900 Biennial Report but was included in the 1902 Biennial Report. The assumption was that the program began in 1901 or 1902, as reported in the report. Under the auspices of the State Superintendent’s office, the program provided teachers with a reading list of books. Teachers were expected to read the books and activities, such as participation in reading clubs, were coordinated with these books. In 1913, the *Colorado School Journal* published a letter from Bradford to the teachers, about the Reading Circle. She said,

The Reading Circle Board desires to express the gratification of its members at the number of appreciations that have been sent to the office of the State Superintendent regarding the Reading Circle books for this year.

A large number of questions of the December examination were based upon the first third of all the Reading Circle books, and the March examination will

require familiarity the second third of all the books. The remaining third of the volumes will be treated at the August examinations (Bradford, 1913c, 7).

Bradford claimed that the result of using these Reading Circle books was a better way for the teachers to prepare for the exam, rather than, “cramming” by using the contents of one book.

Teacher examination questions were taken from the Reading Circle books and in the same issue of the *Colorado School Journal*, Bradford reported on the making of exam questions in more detail,

A subject of very general interest to the teaching force in Colorado is that of the county examinations, the questions for which are prepared under the supervision and issued from the office of State Superintendent.

Perhaps it may be of interest to those about to take the examination, as well as to all the friends of the schools, to know just what method is pursued in the preparation of these questions. While it is true that the State Superintendent is the responsible authority, whose judgment upon the selection and arrangement of questions must be final, it is also true that questions upon many of the subjects are prepared by others. The reason for this is that an effort is made to secure the best thought of as many different school people as possible, the subjects being assigned with a special regard to the expertness of the questioner in that particular line (1913c, 10).

She said that the present questions have been made by her, the Deputy Superintendent, the State Librarian, three principals of city grade schools, two high school teachers, three county superintendents and one city grade teacher. She claimed the “general aim in the preparation of these questions was to secure to the school children of Colorado, a corps of teachers who are thoroughly prepared to enter a high school, who possess some power of thought, some professional capacity and a fair knowledge of the school law under which they must work” (1913c, 10). Bradford’s words indicated, once again, her concern and dedication to improving the quality of education for the children of Colorado.

Another way in which Bradford concentrated her efforts on making the schools better and more cohesive was to focus on improving learning through kindergarten. In 1915, she gave another speech for the National Education Association, this time on the issue of kindergarten. She outlined the fact that in current schools, there was not a suitable transition between kindergarten and the primary grades. She said, “An ever-widening horizon should be the aim, not an abrupt transition from the normal self-expression existing in the kindergarten to a system verging upon, if not characterized by, actual repression (Bradford 1915a, 641).” She believed kindergarten methods, such as teaching basic letters and numbers should be taught but she had a theory that more advanced concepts such as, reading and writing should begin to be taught in the second half of the kindergarten school year and not delayed until first or second grade. She believed that teachers could still make the transition pleasant for the students, introducing the children to reading lessons in kindergarten, rather than the children being thrust into the primary grades with no recognition of letters or sounds. She said,

Let us hope that the effort now being made by kindergartners and primary teachers alike may result in a better understanding of the work of each and a more perfect unification of methods to the end that children may learn to know the truth, to respond to beauty, to work skillfully, and to serve lovingly (Bradford, 1915a, 642).

Kindergarten, whether in the rural schools or cities was another way for Bradford’s department to make improvements in the schools.

The programs continued, initiated, and improved under Bradford’s leadership, were designed to provide an outstanding education to the students of Colorado. In particular, Bradford made sure that rural children received the same opportunities

offered to the city schools. Consolidation was a good place to start, taking smaller rural schools and combining them, to have a bigger, more productive school. This was not convenient for parents who may have had to travel farther, but the state made efforts to help with transportation. The state also helped by improving the quality of the building and ensuring the qualifications of the schools teachers were high. Bradford's work as state superintendent improved education for children and enhanced the professionalism of parents, teachers, the community, and administrators, which as a result, improved communication, teaching ability, better schools, which led to a better experience for the children. Her subsequent years as state superintendent allowed her to continue her plan to improve conditions and provide new opportunities for the children of Colorado. She continued this forward progress with a plan to make all Colorado schools equal – through standardization.

State Standardization Plan

In her first term as State Superintendent (1913-1914), Bradford continued the rural school consolidation plan, realizing more consolidated schools and improved school conditions for the majority of Colorado children. Now that the quality of buildings and instruction were improving, Bradford had to make sure that all children throughout the state were getting the same quality education. She initiated a plan to standardize instruction across the state.

On June 18, 1914, she officially sent out the first Standardization Proclamation and laid out her plan of “scoring the schools of Colorado before the county superintendents. During the next meeting of the State Association of County

Superintendents, the plan was formally adopted and Bradford officially called her plan, “Colorado Plan of Standardization” (*Colorado School Journal*, 1920, 6). She acknowledged in 1915 that this undertaking would require a great amount of clerical and administrative work in her first term as State Superintendent. According to the *Colorado School Journal* in 1920, “This plan has been called by various school authorities throughout the nation the sanest and most practical plan of standardization yet adopted in the country” (1920, 6).

A state committee, with the help of the State Superintendent, developed a plan which included grading or re-grading the school systems so the quality of education could be compared across the schools in the state. Once graded, the schools were given a ranking of standard, moderate, or excellent. Colorado celebrated this process and initiated festive activities in nearly 5,000 school buildings across the state (Bradford, 1915b). This initial assessment required educators across Colorado to spend time making sure their schools buildings were adequate and that every child had the same advantages no matter if they lived in the city or rural communities. Once this was accomplished they concentrated on making sure the academics were the same across the state and that all children had a fair opportunity to learn the same material. This plan was successful and imitated by other states (Kelly, Saint-Germain & Horn, 2002).

In Bradford’s daily correspondence, she often mentioned the benefits of the standardization plan. One positive benefit to citizens that she reported on May 28, 1920, was an increase in land value near a standard school (Bradford, pers. letters, 13). She encouraged her school administrators to promote and celebrate this plan within their

schools and communities by writing in a letter on September 22, 1922 to one of her school leaders, “May I suggest that a little ceremony incidental to the placing of the tablets often stimulates community interest in the progress of the school” (Bradford, pers. letters, 260). The placing of the tablets was a formal ceremony in which the school would display its current grade or status in a prominent place. This is a practice still used today as schools still do this by posting their ratings in front of the school or on a sign for all to see. In a letter to teachers of her state in the *Colorado School Journal*, she explained the requirements of acquiring a first grade rating,

The first grade will be issued to those schools complying with the largest number of the following requirements: The possession of a professionally trained or highly certified teacher, convenient, sanitary, and beautiful buildings, grounds and equipment, a scientifically organized school, full length of term, fair salary paid to the teacher, and, above all, to the school which best succeeds in keeping the largest number of school children in school throughout the year, and most affects the community life” (Bradford, 1920, 6).

To promote competition among the counties to have the best rated schools, Bradford said that the county with the greatest number of first graded schools, “would be ranked the most efficiently standardized county in the state” with two other counties being labeled second and third (Bradford, 1915c, 30).

During Bradford’s second term as state superintendent (1915-1916), school growth continued. Schools continued to consolidate and standardize. In her *Twenty-First Biennial Report* of 1916, Bradford reported over one hundred and twenty-one consolidated schools and three hundred thirty-seven standard schools. Bradford categorized the different schools by saying, “eighteen are of the ‘superior class,’ one hundred and forty ‘approved,’ and one hundred and seventy-nine ‘probationary’

(Bradford, 1916a, 7). This categorization of schools is different than the above mentioned rankings of standard, moderate or excellent. Research did not give a reason for this change. Under Bradford's new plan of standardization, each school was designated with a "tablet of different color" containing the words, "State of Colorado, Standard School, and the Class of the school underneath" (7).

According to Bradford's *1916 Biennial Report*, Colorado's plan made a positive impression on other states, with seven other states adopting similar standardization plans. Colorado had in place a State Committee on Standardization which included six County Superintendents, and the State Superintendent of Public Instruction. They had a method of grading each school in place which included a score card which, "when the requirements are met, means, even the lowest class of standard school, a moderately efficient school, and in the higher class, an excellent institution" (1916a, 7).

One method of promoting and encouraging this standardization plan was to create a celebration each year called the "Annual Standardization Day." The day was issued by proclamation from the office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction to all the second and third class districts in the state. On this day, a grading or re-grading of the school took place. The fourth Friday in each February was designated as this special day with the very first one being held on February 25, 1916. Bradford reports that the first Standardization Day was a huge success with over five thousand schools across the state taking part in the celebration (1916a). The second Standardization Day was set for February 23, 1917, and Bradford's wish was that more schools were added to the roll of honor from the year before.

Bradford's wish came true. Two years after the previous report was published, the number of one room school houses had grown from an original number of approximately three hundred and the number of buildings was reduced to just over a hundred consolidated school buildings. Consolidated schools had grown from twenty-one to sixty-six in two years. Standard schools had increased from three hundred and thirty-seven to five hundred and six – forty of those belonging to the superior class (Bradford, 1919, 8). Bradford wrote a personal letter on May 11, 1920, to Mrs. W.C. Pracht of Arriba County, in 1920 explaining a few reasons why consolidation was beneficial, "Consolidating or rather centralizing, one school is better than two to save on coal, lighting, etc." (Bradford, pers. letter, 1920, 438). Another issue that Bradford wrote about in her personal daily correspondence on August 12, 1920 was the problem of children living in remote areas or high altitudes – a situation common in the Rocky Mountains. She suggested that children living at less than eight thousand feet in elevation should be given a school term of not less than six months and any children living above eight thousand feet in elevation should have a term not less than four months per year (144). Altitude would have been an issue in Colorado because schools located in higher altitudes would have been surrounded in snow longer than schools in lower altitudes. Snow would prevent children from reaching school so schools in higher altitudes were open fewer days.

Improvements continued throughout Colorado. The Reading Circle participation throughout the state had doubled since the last report and Normal School attendance was steadily increasing. Bradford wrote, "The necessity for the training of the teacher in

service has been recognized, and the extension work of all the state educational institutions is reaching a proportion of the teaching force in Colorado hitherto undreamed of” (1916a, 6).

Along with these improvements, Bradford published a new curriculum. In 1914, she re-published “A Course of Study for the Public Schools of Colorado” that was very similar to the 1912 version released by State Superintendent Helen M. Wixson. She then revised the 1914 issue again republished it in 1916. She said about the revised version, “This book is practically a different volume from that issued in 1914, although no radical reorganization of the school curriculum is here attempted.” She said, “The Department is now making an exhaustive study of modern methods and needs in public school education. As a result, not later than the beginning of the school year 1917-1918, the schools of Colorado will be provided with a Course of Study based on the research now in progress” (Bradford 1916b, 1). The national crisis of war would have an impact on the next curriculum.

During Bradford’s tenure as State Superintendent, the United States was dealing with its own challenges involving World War I, which began in 1914 and ended in 1918. Colorado schools under Bradford’s leadership used this national crisis to ready their students for service and national aid. When determining how the schools of Colorado should handle the subject of the war with students, the *Colorado School Journal* reports that rather than ignore the situation or prohibit talking about the war in schools, like some other schools in the a nation had decided to do, Colorado used the war as a valuable lesson. Through curriculum changes, such as an emphasis on Geography and

Citizenship, the schools used the war to teach their student population. The article in the *Colorado School Journal* stated that some teachers of geography “were almost jubilant when the term opened with the European war on; there was current, live geography ready to serve.” Along with geography and history lessons, Colorado schools could use this war to teach peace, “The opportunity afforded by the war to illustrate and enforce the arguments of peace is too favorable to be neglected” (1914, 30, 19). Urban and Wagoner discussed the role of schools and the war, “The schools themselves became quite active in support of the war. Groups such as the Student Army Training Corps brought military training to college campuses and spinoffs began appearing in high schools” (2004, 233).

Some schools were given financial support by the state government in the war efforts. The government used the schools to teach students skills that would be useful to the war efforts. One example is a school in Denver. Bradford reports, “Denver’s Opportunity School has become famous the country over. Originated and supported for years by District No 1, City and County of Denver, it has now been recognized by the United States Government and receives federal aid for teachers in the following subjects: Radio-buzzer service, auto-mechanics, related mechanical drawing and home economics. It can readily be seen that wonderful war service, industrially speaking, be performed by this school” (1919, 7). Bradford admitted that even with the Opportunity School’s great achievements, “its highest function has been its power to develop citizenship” (7). She recognized that in other larger towns, such as, Pueblo and Colorado Springs, other schools have been of service by creating school gardens, which add to the

“nation’s needed store of wealth” and “in the child a love for nature and an illuminating appreciation of a practical scientific study” (7).

Both schools and teachers were accommodating the war efforts. Bradford mentioned this fact, “The teachers of this commonwealth have proved themselves the ‘second line of defense’ in the prosecution of the Great War to End Wars. Every war effort asked of the schools has been responded to most nobly by teachers and pupils alike and this co-operative effort has made a record for Colorado schools that is recognized by the nation” (1919, 9). She shared the news that at least ninety-five percent of all school children and sixty percent of schools in the state had invested in Liberty Bonds and War Savings Stamps, and almost one hundred percent of all school children and teachers had practiced food conservation, built war and school gardens and worked with the Red Cross in the war efforts (9). The schools, including students, teachers, and administrators, all were part of the war efforts. This was a collaborative effort across the nation, issued from the government to the school administrators. The schools were used for a greater purpose, not just educating children on basic skills such as reading, writing and mathematics, but also ensuring their knowledge of useful skills that would benefit them as American citizens, patriotism, citizenship and government. Bradford, as state superintendent met with government officials and travelled to national meetings where educators from across the country were gathered to learn about and then disseminate this national agenda. This information was found in the state superintendent reports and publications from the meetings of the National Education Association. Her actions had an influence on the new curriculum.

In her ongoing efforts to help with the current conditions of her country, on April 19, 1918, Bradford wrote a letter to the children and teachers of allied countries, from the school children and teachers of the United States in response to the world conflict of the War. She wrote,

The love of the school children of America is sent to warm and bless you. The protection of the teachers of America is extended to you through deeds of tenderness... We love you. Believe it. Call on us. Use us. Let us serve you. The soul of your country is also the soul of our land. We offer our Mother America to help be a mother to you, that childhood may be united in an all-everlasting love (Bradford, pers. letters, Box 50125, p. 293, Colorado State Archives).

Bradford, as president of the National Education Association, sent this message to other countries to show support during this time of distress. She did not take this honor lightly, just as she did not take the fact that she was one of the few female state superintendents in the country for granted. In a letter to Annie Webb Blanton on February 7, 1919, she wrote in regards to a meeting of state superintendents that she hosted a few years before,

It was my pleasure some few years ago; to call a conference of women state superintendents and we had a most enjoyable meeting in my office.... At the time there were only four women in the United States. Add Chicago we shall have doubled our forces. Surely this is a wonderful mark of progress in relation to the filling of positions of administrative power and trust, by women capable of performing such functions (Bradford, pers. letters, Box 50125, p. 462, Colorado State Archives).

This letter showed that she believed that women held these positions and were very successful, growing in number over the years. Bradford recognized the progress women had made in filling these important positions and the capability they had proved in doing so.

As State Superintendent, Bradford published the promised new course of study for the State of Colorado in 1918, during this time of national focus. This new version,

rewritten after a thorough investigation of what was lacking in the current curriculum and after much research with the contribution of many educational experts was influenced by the war efforts of the country. The new curriculum entitled, “A War-Modified Course of Study for the Public Schools of Colorado,” was an effort to rewrite and improve the previous curriculum, which was written under the direction of Wixson, then republished with slight changes by Bradford in 1918. This new curriculum was more complete and included the aid of many school professionals in its creation. It focused on new subjects, created as result of the war, such as Flag Ritual and Patriotism. Some subjects were deleted as noted by Urban and Wagoner, “As might be expected, America’s war effort has substantial effects on its schools. Whereas the German language had been taught together with English in many cities with sizeable German populations, the coming of World War I put an end to the study of the German language in most public and private schools” (2004, 232). Bradford explained why and how Colorado’s curriculum was rewritten at the beginning of the document,

The War-Modified Course of Study, here presented for the use of the Public Schools of Colorado, has been prepared with the assistance of the best pedagogical talent in the commonwealth. The co-operating educators have performed a labor of love for the children of the Centennial State, and the Department of Public Instruction offers this service as a contribution toward and enlightened and patriotic citizenship.

The form of this State Course of study is different from any that has preceded it. Its issuance in a series of volumes affords convenience and ensures ‘up-to-dateness.’ The subject matter, of course, is correlated closely with war conditions, and standardization and the examination grades will be connected with the use of the material in these study helps, making an intellectual foundation for community, state and national service” (Bradford, 1918a, 1, 2).

Although published as one book (Bradford, 1918b), the work is organized by volumes, each addressing a specific group of courses and skills. Volume One of this course of study included the Social Subjects: Citizenship, Civics, Flag Ritual, History, Patriotism, Prehistoric Colorado, and the Story of Colorado. The second volume included the “Tools of Education.” (Democracy, Reading, Spelling, Penmanship, Language & Grammar, Autocracy vs. Democracy, and Arithmetic). Bradford explained, “As Volume One interpreted the Social Subjects of History, Civics, Patriotism, etc., in the light of the recent world events, so the present volume endeavors to link subject matter to live experience at a great crisis in the history of the world” (Bradford, 1918a, 2, 3). Again, with this statement, Bradford explained the reason for this new curriculum.

Despite the fact that World War I ended as these volumes were being written, Bradford continued to keep the same name, “War-Modified Course of Study,” on each volume, she explained,

Since the first volume appeared the Great War to End Wars has come to a triumphant conclusion. Peace has been won from under the shadow of victorious swords, and civilization has vindicated its right to a permanent existence. Nevertheless, the title, “War-Modified Course of Study” belongs of right to each volume of this series, the changes that have been wrought in the living and thinking of the people by the great struggle, ‘carrying on’ into the near and even remote future. Therefore, the plan adopted when the issuance of this new Course of Study was undertaken, will be followed throughout” (1918a, 2, 3).

The third volume, called, “The World of Nature and of Man,” contained the subjects “that are essentially interpretive of matters in relation to nature and society, including, Geography, Nature Study and Science, Agriculture, School Gardens, Home Economics, Manual Training and Vocational Education, Good Roads, School Architecture, and the Junior Red Cross as a Permanent Educative Agency.

The fourth volume, entitled, “Special Subjects,” included the subjects of Drawing, Humane Education, Hygiene and Sanitation, Music, Physical Education, Manual of Physical Training, Scientific Temperance, and Fire Prevention. The fifth and final volume was dedicated to the “latest and most advanced educational suggestions in High School work” (Bradford, 1918a, 5, 3). It included a reprint of the previously published outline for the Four Year High School by the Department of Public Instruction, currently in use in Pueblo, Colorado, and included new information being used in other parts of Colorado and other states. The curriculum was divided into Junior High School, Senior High School, Four-Year High School Course and contained the following miscellaneous subjects, An Outline in Americanization, Military Training, Teachers’ Reading Circle, School Libraries, and the Boys’ and Girls’ Clubs (1918a, 5, 4). The new curriculum was more comprehensive than the previous one published by Wixson and reflected the current events of the country, as Bradford mentioned in her forward comments.

One attribute of Bradford that is seen throughout her tenure as State Superintendent was her ability to show her concern for her administrators, teachers and students. When granting teaching certificates, Bradford personally sent a letter to each recipient. In her 1916 biennial report, she stated that five hundred and fifty-two certificates were recommended and issued. The report mentioned that she traveled thirty thousand miles in the performance of her duties “centralizing, consolidating, and standardizing schools and visiting educational meetings” (1916a, 8). Her number of miles traveled almost doubled over the previous biennium. In her travels to these

schools, she visited with teachers, administrators and the community. Colorado is a large state with a diverse and harsh terrain and weather pattern. Despite these challenges, visiting the schools was a priority for Bradford. She traveled more miles, visited more schools and attended more meetings than in her last term and still she was not recognized with an increase in pay or adequate funding to accomplish all that she needed to during her tenure. Bradford was appointed as a member of a new committee formed by the superintendent's association of the NEA. Her committee worked to improve the lives of children through the improvement of home conditions (*Rocky Mountain News*, February 2, 1916, 3).

In 1917, she was named president of the NEA. Her tenure as leader of this organization enabled Bradford to make a national impact on education. The same year she wrote a speech for the NEA on the subject of the schools and their role in this national time of need, entitled, "The Public School and the Nation in 1917." Her words were a bit more dramatic and alluded to her feelings on the role of schools in America. The nation was still at war and her speech relayed the importance of public schools to the war effort and to the nation. She said,

The title of the subject under discussion this morning reflects the most vital reality in the life of present-day America. To the inflexible test of results it summons the one public institution in which Americans profess the most profound faith, and which non-Americans have considered the supremely distinctive feature of the national development. A crucial time is this. How is American to meet the testing process? Will the mighty mother of over a hundred million people – America – find her children 'arise and calling her Blessed?' Will she prove to the world of nineteen hundred and seventeen that America spells adequacy, as in earlier years the magic letters of that name were interchangeable with opportunity? Does she stand as the incarnate will to righteousness of all humanity and the incarnate will to sacrifice for all mankind? Does the fluttering of her flags on blood stained soil of France mean the beating

of pulses in over a hundred million American bodies – that beating attuned to the victorious music of mankind arising from the sepulcher of dead traditions and moldering governmental and social forms into the sunlight of a rehabilitated world?

If so, it will be because the American public school has, in some degree at least, fulfilled the august task confided to it by the commands of democratic government. And if, after this great war to end wars shall be over, America functions as the supreme idealistic force in the reorganization of the world, it will be because the public schools of nineteen seventeen have given to the people of the nation a higher vision than the world has ever before seen (Bradford, 1917a, 233).

Bradford then outlined the tasks that the schools should make in this effort, “The great task of the public school of nineteen seventeen is the mighty effort which must be made by the school people of today” (1917a, 234). She first suggested that schools should continue to, “Demonstrate the sacredness of the intellectual integrity of the nation.” This point meant that the country needed to continue to show the world that it is intelligent and full of honor, qualities that it has always portrayed. This could be done by exemplifying quality education and providing a good model for the rest of the world. Her suggestion was for the schools to keep this in mind as they were teaching the children, making this the end goal, by providing innovative curriculum, quality school facilities, and graduating the majority of students.

Next, she said that schools need, “to hold aloft the standard of straight thinking.” This point suggested that schools should continue to keep high standards of thought in the curriculum, not swaying from this purpose and keeping a strong work ethic as she next suggested that schools continue, “Incessant and consecrated work.” She also pointed out that schools need to teach the present curriculum and focus on national goals of Americanization and citizenship and she recognized the importance of having the

support of the government by telling school administrators to “Point out the necessity of the incorporation of mighty loving in the legislation,” which would ensure legislative and financial support (1917a, 234).

She said a new vision was needed including a “vision that reveals to itself as the molder of the soul of the nation in the likeness of the ideal humanity, so to fit the framework of educational activities that the translation of the ideal republic into the terms of practical democratic living may speedily and beautifully be made more effective” (Bradford 1917a, 234). She then challenged the representatives of the school people attending this meeting of the NEA to offer themselves “to the nation as one unit in the great army of those who stand ready to give all to the nation’s summons” and “as the body of people to whom is confided the guarding of the grail of future citizenship let us urge the President of the republic to use in some unified, direct way in the present national crisis” (234).

Finally in this speech, Bradford called the public school of 1917 the “Casket of the Grail” and she called the school people its “bodyguard.” Challenging everyone, “Let us examine ourselves searchingly and fit ourselves reverently for the high enterprise of keeping safe and stainless the cup containing the draught commingled of thought and work and love, the immortal draught without which the national ideals must perish” (1917a, 234). Her interpretation of the schools as the “casket” or keeper of the grail is an interesting analogy, one which provokes a rich response upon hearing the words. The statement also reflected her religious beliefs by including words that pertained to religion. Her family history included several religious officials, as noted in Chapter II,

and her upbringing and marriage prove she was a religious person, which could be seen in her references to religious figures and objects in her writing. She gave the speech to educators across the country and her passion for education and the role that it holds in society is evident in her words.

Bradford's outstanding reputation in education and with the war effort was recognized through different roles outside of her office. During the war she was a member of "Captain of Hoover's Legion of Life for the State of Colorado" and a member of the National Thrift Committee and vice-chairman of Thrift activities in Colorado. President Wilson called her to Washington in January of 1918 to attend the first conference for inaugurating the Junior Red Cross. She went to Washington D.C. nine times to attend educational conferences and she served as a member of the National Education Commission on the Emergency in Education (*Colorado School Journal*, 1920, 6). In 1921, the government put forth a bill, The Smith-Towner Bill, which would for the first time create a Federal Department of Education with a secretary serving in the Presidential Cabinet. Bradford was mentioned in the press as a possible candidate for this cabinet position. When asked her opinion on whether there should be a demand for a woman secretary of education, she said,

Whether a man or woman fills this important position is of small moment. It has been said one reason women have lent their adherence to the creation of the department of education is that they intend to urge the appointment of a woman as the first secretary of education. Personally, I do not believe this is so.

While all the thinking women would be glad to see as first appointee a woman fitted by nature, training and experience, to discharge the functions of such an office, yet I do not believe that this hope has motivated the action of the hundreds of thousands of American women who have indorsed the bill.

It is my hope that the bill will be enacted into law and that the first secretary of education, whether man or woman, may be ideally fitted to serve the nation (*Denver Times*, February 23, 1920).

The Smith-Towner Bill was not passed in Congress during the next session but the recommendation of Bradford to this important position gave credence to her importance and value as an educator. Simply being considered for the position on the President of the United States' cabinet was recognition of her popularity and reputation.

In her role as State Superintendent and as president of the NEA, Bradford knew many important educators. On August 4, 1917, she wrote a letter to Texas State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Annie Webb Blanton, accepting an invitation to speak in Waco, Texas (Box 50125, p. 8). She also wrote letters requesting guest speakers for the upcoming 1918 convention of the NEA.

On August 22, 1917, she wrote a letter to Chicago Superintendent, Ella Flagg Young, former NEA president (the first woman to be elected to this position) and progressive educator, requesting her to speak at the convention (9). She also requested the presence of Dr. Granville Stanley Hall (12), esteemed Psychologist, William C. Bagley, known as one of the founding fathers of essentialism (27), Dr. M.L. Burton, President of the University of Minnesota, Dr. W.A. Jessup, President of the University of Iowa, Dr. Parson Smith, Commissioner of Education of Boston, The Honorable J.H. Finley, Commissioner of Education of Albany, New York, and many other educational experts across the country. She called upon others to submit names of potential speakers and asked that they find speakers who represent the different views of major organizations within the country. For example she wanted, the Secretary of the Army to

discuss “The role of the American Army in education,” the Secretary of Treasury to discuss, “The financial aspect of the War,” different senators to discuss, “How state governments view education,” and she also wanted the Speaker of the House, the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Labor to discuss their office’s views on education (Bradford, pers. letters, 1917, Box 50125, Colorado State Archives).

On September 24, 1917, she received a response from the U.S. Speaker of the House, declining her invitation to attend the national convention, and her response to him was, “You know the saying that ‘when a woman will she will, and when she won’t she won’t, and I have just made up my mind that I won’t take no as an answer from you.” On December 19, 1917, Bradford received a letter that Ella Flagg Young would not speak but would attend. Bradford responded delightfully, “Wherever Ella Flagg Young sits at an educational conference; she will be at the head of the table! The very fact that you will be at the Pittsburgh gathering will tend to make the meeting a success” (Bradford, pers. letters, Box 50125, 131, Colorado State Archives). Flagg was considered was an influential educator, studied under John Dewey and dedicated her life to improving education in the United States, publishing on various educational topics including, literature, peace and ethics.

Her letters show other activities she was involved in during this time, including a response she wrote to Dr. J. L. McBrien, School Extension Agent for the Bureau of Education, and “Thank you for the suggestions in reference to the use of the one hundred million dollars of federal aid for the improvement of rural schools about which we are dreaming.... By the way, this is a dream we intend to make come true.” On February 5,

1918, she wrote a letter to the school superintendents advising them to have two lessons per week, lasting not less than ten minutes, on the “humane treatment to animals.” On February 9, 1918, she wrote a letter to Dr. R.W. Corwin, Chief Surgeon of the Minnequa Hospital in Pueblo, Colorado. She asks his opinion on textbooks including one called, “Elementary Hygiene.”

Bradford dedicated her life to improving the lives of women and children, first through suffrage and then education. Her first few terms as state superintendent gave her the power to make major improvements in education. Through the changes in rural schools by consolidating and through her state plan of standardization, she insured that the children of Colorado would have the best possible school experiences and new opportunities. She made sure that teachers had better working conditions, home life and better pay and through programs such as the Reading Circle, Bradford made sure that teachers had the best opportunities to improve themselves so that they were better educators. She spent countless hours traveling the state to personally see the conditions of the schools so that she could make the changes necessary for all schools to be better. Her next program was one which she had to implement because of the necessity of what was going on in the country – an influx of foreign immigrants. These new citizens needed to assimilate into the country and after the First World War; everyone was forced to become more productive and more aware of their civic duty.

Americanization

By the early 20th century, the United States had gone through two periods of immigration, which Roitman called the “old immigration” and the “new immigration”

(Roitman, 1996, 1) The old immigration consisted of those who came to the country before 1880, primarily from the western and northern parts of Europe. Roitman said that these immigrants did not find this new land to be too “alien,” as they came from “a relatively high standard of living, a low rate of illiteracy, and some degree of political self-government” (1996, 1). The new immigration refers to those who came after 1880. The majorities were not Protestant and came mainly from southern and eastern Europe. Roitman said these immigrants came from areas that were politically, socially, and economically “backward.” They had a high rate of illiteracy.

The new immigrants did not speak English and had different customs from Americans. They came during a time of great growth in the country. Industrialization was advancing rapidly, and with this advancement and the rising number of people living in the country, problems arose including, poverty, slums, government corruption, and a growing class conflict. Americans blamed much of this negative behavior on these new immigrants (Roitman, 1996, 3). Tyack wrote that this concern for all Americans was to be “perfectly homogenous,” and spawned efforts by others to help with this goal. Immigration was not new to the country; immigrants had been entering America since the 17th century when Europeans first arrived. After independence was gained from Britain, Americans’ thoughts turned to creating a distinctive national identity. Patriotic epics and poems were written and textbooks were created. For example, Noah Webster, an advocate for nationalism, published a dictionary in the early 1800’s to create a consistent vocabulary. Tyack wrote about Webster, “His textbooks were the chief weapon of his campaign for nationalism; in them he sought to homogenize the language”

(1967, 86). This early effort showed an attempt to make the American language the same, just as the Americanization program, over a century later, tried to do the same. Immigration was not new to the country; immigrants had been entering American since the 17th century when Europeans arrived. However, with the growing and advanced school systems now a major initiative of the country, Urban and Wagoner explain how this period of immigration was different and how it affected the schools,

The thing that was new in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was the increased number of immigrants and their exotic backgrounds. The massive flow of these new immigrants merely intensified the administrative progressives' drive for more centrally controlled, scientifically managed, differentiated city schools. However, the cultural diversity of the immigrants meant that the public schools were now facing students whose backgrounds they did not know, whose languages they did not speak, and whose habits they often found strange and threatening (2004, 211).

The wish to Americanize everyone in the country was a large task. Some of this acclimation to American language and customs could be done in the homes and in the communities but as Tyack wrote, the schools were the best place to reach the younger residents, "Although Americanization occurred in countless ways outside of the classroom, a special burden rested upon the common school, for it was the one institution which reached most of the young" (1967, 228). The country looked to the public schools to help with this problem. They saw the schools as the best system to help "Americanize" the illiterate adults and children, "The chief end is to make them good citizens" (Fass, 1989, 13).

The schools were used to Americanize children but there was also a need to educate adults. Cubberley wrote, "While providing schooling for such of the children of the foreign-born as choose to attend public rather than parochial schools, we have,

through all our history, left to chance the Americanization of adults” (1919, 426).

Evening English classes were set up for the adults, but for the children, the school was considered the best choice for their transformation. The important question was what constituted an “American education?” Much debate was held over this question and different objectives were identified. The schools could be used to educate future workers and citizens. The school was responsible for teaching, “the language, history, customs, and democratic institutions” (Fass, 1989: 16). This immigration question and the onset of World War I, combined to make Americanization an immediate concern and focus of the country. The War brought attention to the differences in ethnicity in the country. Some groups were discriminated against due to where they originated from and their allegiance to their mother country, and not the United States, “Immigrants whose loyalty had often been an issue, now became the targets of loyalist citizens’ groups of various kinds. Americans of German birth or heritage were particularly subject to reprisals, and Irish Americans, because of their homeland’s long standing antipathy to the British, were another target” (Urban & Wagoner, 2004, 229). This placed the burden in the hands of the schools. Fass wrote, “The schools were to be at once instruments of remedial socialization and primary agents of culture; they were to connect the democratic potential of an enormously diverse population to the unities of an ancient citizenship; they were to educate for future success but be attentive to present needs” (34). The schools had a large job to accomplish, including the schools of Colorado.

Bradford, as State Superintendent recognized the schools responsibility to aid in the Americanization of its young citizens. In 1913, she gave a speech on this issue for

the National Education Association entitled, “The Heart of the Educational Problem.”

She said,

American’s public-school system is on trial. The educational attitude is changing, and courses of study are being modified in harmony with the newer ideals. Whether these changes in aims and methods of study are meeting modern requirements cannot be answered, unless the chief purpose of public-school instruction is defined (1913b, 200).

In the above paragraph, she recognized that the schools were being used as a tool to help in Americanizing its children and making them better citizens. She then gave her interpretation of the situation, recognizing this fact,

To the present writer, civilization is revealed in human institutions, of the highest ideal, the best self of any given citizenship, at any given time.

Civilization of this type is largely the creation of government, which last is nothing less than the science and art of living together in organized communities so that righteousness may prevail. The public school is the child of the government. Therefore, the public school exists for making citizens (1913b, 200).

Bradford admitted that the schools were used for making citizens and gave advice to her audience, educators from across the nation on what to focus on – character building. Her advice was to give students a curriculum and teaching that build character,

Education, then, should present a content and method conducive to character-building – to the formation of such a character-type in its people as will make it possible for the United States to fulfill its mission.

And what is the mission of the United States? What is the significance of the part it is destined to play in the story of the nations?

If it means anything of special import to be an American, it is because America is the realizing of a dream of human brotherhood; the coming to fruition of a rich and multiform opportunity; the condition of life in such a way that the ultimate possibilities of each human being may be developed. America stands for the social transformation, where happiness is demonstrated to be the child of freedom, and full satisfaction the result of the work well done.

If this be the import of the world-message that America is translating into world-activities, then to be a representative American citizen is to be adequate to all the demands of life – physical, mental, moral; and the American education should provide such intellectual material and use such pedagogical means as will train the future citizen to see, think, work, love, and enjoy (1913b, 200).

Bradford admitted new school sociology must be adopted in schools and with people in order to achieve these goals of Americanization. She said that citizens must be healthy and exercise and they must train their mind. She believed vocational training is needed. She said the real heart of the educational problem today, “That problem being the production of adequate human beings – is to secure the instant and efficient response of trained minds and trained bodies to the call of duty – to the voice of the higher self” (1913, 201). She believed that through the mind and the body the needs of the nation was met – that this is the reason that public schools exist and said, “When they shall fully measure up to the standard of their great destiny, the American nation will have made its glorious dream come true” (201).

In January, 1915, Bradford initiated a program of “Americanization work” in the schools of Colorado, making Colorado the “first commonwealth undertaking such a project on a statewide basis” (*Colorado School Journal*, 1920, 6). She held a conference with the United States Deputy Labor Commissioner concerning the Americanization of schools and received the endorsement of the United States Bureau of Labor (6). The rest of the country was concerned about “Americanization,” which was an “acculturation program in which immigrants were socialized into an American culture that was assumed to be superior to that of the old ‘old country’” (Urban & Wagoner, 2004, 197).

Additional programs were initiated throughout the country to “Americanize” immigrants, including the opening of settlement homes like Hull House headed by Jane Addams in Chicago which worked to serve immigrants from eastern and southern Europe. Other social settlements were erected in the United States to serve immigrants for the purpose of Americanization. This initiative cost money and Colorado enacted the Educational Emergency Bill, as reported in the 22nd Biennial Report of the State Superintendent. The report lists the annual national budget for Americanization in the United States as \$7,500,000.00. Colorado had 129, 587 immigrants out of a total of 799, 024 total citizens according to the 1910 census. Congress allotted \$71, 920 to Colorado, but Colorado actually spent \$143,841 for Americanization per year (Bradford, 1919, 11).

In 1920, the *Colorado School Journal* published an article on the state’s commitment to organize a plan called, “Americanization Plank,”

The Colorado Educational Association believes that America belongs to American citizen, native and naturalized, and to those who desire to become such, who are willing to abide by the laws of the land and who are willing to seek redress for their grievances in orderly and constitutional ways. All others should be taught, peaceably if possible, forcibly if necessary, to respect the laws, the ideals, and the institutions of this country” (*Colorado School Journal*, 1920, 6).

Bradford, the schools of Colorado and the Colorado Educational Association worked together to help Americanize the citizens of Colorado.

In 1920, Bradford called a meeting of other State Superintendents of public land states to discuss her recent initiatives of the standardization of schools, the administration of school lands and the Americanization program. The other school leaders gave their approval of her efforts (1920, 6).

Later Work

During Bradford's third term in office (1917-1918) she continued to work for the children of Colorado by demanding more funds and better resources for the Colorado school system. In the *Twenty-Second Biennial Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction*, Bradford summed up her third term in office by listing the accomplishments and needs of her state. She reported what the nation had done for Colorado schools by listing the cash funds Colorado owned due to its fortune in property taxes and revenue. Between property taxes, revenue from coal and other minerals, monies in the Permanent School Fund and the Public School Income Fund, in 1918 Colorado had approximately six million dollars in school funds. Bradford called herself, "Guardian of the school fund, and chief school officer of the state" and said, "These figures quicken my imagination and steel my determination in demanding that the best be provided for the school children of Colorado" (Bradford, 1919, 6).

Bradford was determined to make sure the funds for the children of the state stayed in the hands of the Department of Education. With the assistance of the first class districts which provided much of these funds, Bradford "represented the permanent and public school income funds through counsel before the Supreme Court, gaining a decision to the effect that the cost of administration of school lands could not be taken from these funds but that they must be kept 'inviolable and intact forever'..." (*Colorado School Journal*, 1920, 6).

With funding secure and the schools rapidly improving, Bradford discussed Colorado's progress in the 1919 biennial report, "What the Colorado School System Has

Done for Itself.” She acknowledged that the state continued to improve the quality of school buildings and equipment by building new structures and remodeling and improving existing structures. She shared a national compliment to the state by saying, “A recent survey made by school experts of national fame paid a magnificent tribute to the teaching force of Denver when the reports said that nowhere in this country had they found a school spirit to equal that of Denver” (Bradford, 1919, 7).

As she finished up her third term, she made her recommendations to the governor, many of which were the same as before, including providing supervisors for the high school and elementary schools, a new certification law which would make it easier for teachers certificates’ to be honored in other states – Bradford suggested the current Colorado certification was being rejected by other states. She asked for a raise in the salary of her office, recognizing that her office still received one thousand dollars a year less than the lowest paid executive state offices. She said, “It is recommended that this discrimination be rectified at the earliest possible moment and the educational office be placed upon a par with that of the Secretary of State and the State Auditor” (Bradford, 1919, 12).

Bradford’s last statement to the Governor and the Colorado citizens was to praise the state and to ask for the public’s assistance in improving the school systems. She said,

One of the greatest school systems in the world can be built here where nature has given of itself so lavishly in the value of its products and the glorious beauty of mountain and plain. The eternal hills stand sentinel-wise over untold treasure. The Colorado earth asks only a little cultivation to meet all the needs of those who dwell within its borders. Colorado brains are as keen as its own early morning air and the hearts of its people as warm as the sunset crimson of its western skies. Let human brain and heart and nature’s wealth combine to provide that noblest of all civic forces – an ideal public school system. Through 1919 and

in the years to come, think for the children. Work for the children. Save for the children. Give to the children through educational effort, and Colorado will show the world a product of childhood and youth fit to interpret the strength and the riches of her mountains, the plenty of her plains, the radiance of her skies” (Bradford, 1919, 13).

Bradford recognized the quality educational progress of her state and admitted that others beyond its borders were recognizing how successful the educational programs were, even attracting the attention of others and said that these programs, “have attracted critical attention far beyond its borders and acted as inducements to a not inconsiderable number of people to make Colorado their educational Mecca” (1919, 13).

Bradford was elected a fourth time to the office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction in 1918. She published the *Twenty –Third Biennial Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction* in 1921. Colorado schools continued to make positive changes under Bradford’s leadership, providing opportunities for the children of the state. Bradford recognized her office’s contribution to this success,

Once more Colorado’s Department of Public Instruction has been the first in the United States to establish on a state-wide basis, an efficient aid to the development of the New Education. As Colorado was the first commonwealth to adopt Americanization in the schools by the authority of the Department of Public Instruction, so it has also been the first commonwealth to use the modern Educational Tests and Measurements, even in the country schools, under the supervision of the department (Bradford, 1921, 2).

Along with consolidation, standardization, and Americanization, Colorado schools saw great growth in other areas.

School facilities and the quality of the teaching force continued to improve across the state. Bradford reported that there was a shortage of qualified teachers but that by raising qualifications for teachers, the shortage was beginning to lessen as teachers

were becoming better educated and qualified. The increase in the number of teachers could be contributed to a rise in teacher salaries over the years. In one letter to the teachers of Colorado, published in the *Colorado School Journal* in 1920, Bradford wrote,

The biblical command to “stay by the stuff” has been carried out by hosts of loyal teachers, even though the flattering inducements of business life have been many, and other much better paid professional avenues have been opened before them. It is true, numbers have dropped out of the ranks of the teaching profession because of poor pay, but it is also gloriously true that numbers have remained because they realize that the “stuff” by which they are staying is the soul-stuff of the world – the material from which must be molded the image and likeness of the ideal citizenship” (Bradford 1920, 36, 6).

Bradford’s work to increase salaries for teachers could be seen throughout her years as superintendent in both her biennial reports and through her correspondence with teachers, administrators, and lawmakers.

During Bradford’s fourth term, Colorado saw an increase in consolidated schools. In 1921 Bradford reported one hundred and thirty as of the publication of this report – an increase from sixty-six two years prior. The number of schools in Colorado doubled from approximately two thousand to four thousand in the past few years – Bradford contributing the consolidation of schools as one reason for this growth. The success of Colorado’s schools through its consolidation and standardization plans, and the influx of citizens to this state, resulted in this growth (1921, 7).

Bradford worked throughout her terms to increase the amount of funding to the schools of Colorado. She recommended a state millage tax for elementary education claiming, “Because of the fact that Colorado’s system of raising school revenue is antiquated and inefficient, and particularly because of the additional fact that there is not

state-wide tax for elementary education, Colorado was placed by the most recent educational statisticians as fourteenth in the list of states, when its other educational achievements would entitle it to at least second place among the states of the union” (1921, 10). She recommended \$55,400 in new expenditures to the governor, once again including a small raise in her office’s salary from three thousand to four thousand dollars a year.

Another contribution of Bradford to the schools of Colorado was her introduction of a formal system of testing and measurements. This undertaking of Bradford’s would make Colorado “the first commonwealth to undertake such a project on a statewide basis” (*Colorado School Journal* 1920, 7). She relied on research and the advice of scientific experts to improve the schools of Colorado. She began testing students to determine where they should be placed in the new standardized schools. In 1919, she had teachers across the state administer mental testing to the children to determine which class they were assigned. She used her rural school supervisor and county superintendents to train their teachers to administer these tests.

At the end of her fourth term, the *Twenty-Second Biennial Report* summarized her activities, “For the biennial period the superintendent has traveled, seventy thousand miles in the performance of her official duties, centralizing, consolidating and standardizing schools and visiting educational meetings (Bradford, 1919, 10). Her travels had almost doubled from her previous term, which had nearly doubled from the term before. She recognized that as president of the NEA, only the second woman in

history to be so, she “found it possible to win a large measure of recognition for the Colorado school system and the state at large” (10).

After eight years (four elected terms), Bradford lost the election in 1920 to Katherine L. Craig. The *Colorado School Journal* published an article on Bradford’s retirement and lists her major accomplishments over the years. The article said,

As Mrs. Bradford retires from the office of Superintendent of Public Instruction, those of us who have known of her work will feel profoundly impressed with the wonderful record she has made. Not only in Colorado, but the whole nation, has been bettered because she has lived and labored with us (1920, 6).

Craig served two years and reported that Colorado schools continued their growth including an increase in high school attendance, saying, “Consolidation and standardization have been the slogan” - both a continuation of the progress seen during Bradford’s tenure (Craig 1923, 4). Despite Bradford’s supposed “retirement” in 1920, as reported by the *Colorado School Journal*, after one term in office, Craig lost the next election to Bradford. Bradford’s fifth term began in 1923 and ended in two years later in 1924. She published the *Twenty-Fourth Biennial Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction* in 1925. Her very first request was the same as before and a bit of frustration is detected in her words,

I recommend for the fifth time what every State Superintendent of Public Instruction for the past sixteen years has also recommended, an increase in the salary of the Superintendent. In your Excellency’s message to the Legislature, you called attention to the fact that the salary of the Secretary to the Governor had not been increased since that office be originally created in eighteen seventy-six. May I call to your attention to another situation parallel to that, namely; the salary of the Superintendent of Public Instruction has not been increased since that office be created in eighteen seventy-six? That one of the six Executive Constitutional officers of the Commonwealth should receive a less salary than many holding merely appointive positions has become, in the eye of thousands of thinking citizens of Colorado, little less than a scandal (Bradford 1925, 3).

She then recommended to the governor that the salary be raised from three to five thousand, which is one thousand more than she and other superintendents had previously requested. She suggested that by raising the salary of her office, “The passage of such a law would redeem the Department of Public Instruction from the financial stigma that it has been borne for so many decades, and the next biennium would see the Superintendent in possession of a salary commensurate with the importance of the service rendered and the place held by education in the hearts and minds of the people” (1925, 3).

Bradford again asked for the terms of both her office and that of county superintendent be extended from two to four years citing her reason as, “no adequate supervisory and executive policy can be even approximately carried out in less than a four-year term” and her other reason being that “more progressive states” practice this policy (Bradford 1925, 3). Another request in this report that is different than any of her previous requests involves providing religious education in the public schools. She said, “As a member of the State Council for Religious Education, I am co-operating and in hearty accord with that body in its program of providing for religious education among the pupils of the public schools” (1925, 4). She explained that the current bill allowed for children to be excused from school a limited time each week engaging in religious instruction from a school or church of their choice at the request of their parents. Bradford’s request allowed the instruction to be given in the public schools.

Bradford reported to the governor the increase in size of graduating classes in Colorado, including a large number of boys that finished their full four-year term in

order to receive their state diplomas. She mentioned the increase of vocational training seen throughout the schools and the fact that new school buildings were being built all throughout the state.

Bradford was elected to her sixth and final term in 1924 and published her last report as state superintendent, the *Twenty-Fifth Biennial Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction* in 1927. Her last biennial report, much like the previous one, immediately began with asking for the “sixth time” a raise in the salary for her office. She again told the governor that the state superintendent had not received a pay increase since the office’s conception in eighteen seventy six and as she boldly wrote – “A HALF CENTURY AGO!” She asked for salary increases for the Deputy State Superintendent of Public Instruction, the clerks and stenographers, and she asked for the addition to her staff of a State Supervisor of Adult Education.

Other than the salary recommendations, she discussed a few other issues, including adult illiteracy, citing the aid of the Parent-Teacher Association and the Daughters of the American Revolution as both were giving aid to the state to help battle illiteracy in Colorado. Her last letter written as state superintendent in the twenty-fifth biennial report did not mention Americanization or consolidation. She did ask for the passage of the “County Unit Bill” which put the educational organization in the hands of the counties rather than a “district,” with this practice of districts in charge of the schools rather than county, being abandoned in what she called the majority of “forward looking states.” Finally, Bradford asked the governor for the endorsement of the legislative program of the Colorado Education Association and proposes a survey to be completed

for a Teacher's Retirement plan. This report was much less detailed than her first four reports, although with the hiring of additional supervisors and other administrative assistants over the years, the delegation of tasks was distributed to more people and the reports now contain written descriptions from these additional sources, including the rural school supervisors, state librarian, and the State School Supervisor.

This was Bradford's last term as state superintendent in Colorado. Her successful tenure as state superintendent and her involvement in many other activities, had given Bradford national recognition. In 1925, during her last term in office, President Coolidge gave serious consideration to appointing Bradford as a female member of the United States Civil Service Commission. She would have replaced a female, Mrs. Helen Gardener, who had recently died and was the only woman in this service. Bradford's Colorado connections were a factor in her consideration, "Mrs. Bradford's candidacy was advanced several notches today when she received an endorsement from Charles W. Waterman of Denver, a personal and political friend of the president" (*Denver Times*, September 17, 1925). She did not get this appointment and the sources did not report why she did not get or take the position if it was offered to her.

Bradford's educational leadership experience involved her state of Colorado, the United States, and she received international recognition for her leadership. In 1925 she was elected to an international education position. The press announcement read, "Mrs. Mary C.C. Bradford, state superintendent of public instruction of Colorado, left Denver, June 22, for New York City, sailing from there July 11 for Edinburgh, Scotland to attend the biennial conference of the World Federation of Education Associations there she was

named a member of the board of directors of this international body” (*Rocky Mountain News*, July 28, 1925).

Despite Bradford’s efforts during her tenure as superintendent to ask for higher salaries for her office, she never saw a pay increase. She, like those before her, petitioned constantly to have this office changed from elected to appointed by a board of education. She reminded the state government that other states had followed this example. Bradford petitioned for the change in 1915 and in 1924, stating that “no adequate supervisory and executive policy can be even approximately carried out in less than a four-year term,” and again in 1926 (Bradford 1924, 7). This issue would not appear again in the superintendent reports until the 1948 biennial report that announced the 1947 resolution that was adopted by the General Assembly to submit a Constitutional Amendment to the vote of the people for the reorganization of the State Department of Education, thereby changing the office of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction to the office of the Commissioner of Education. This position would change from elected to appointed (Freed 1948). The people approved this amendment as shown in the 1950 report.

For many years Colorado’s female state superintendents wanted this change but did they understand what this would do for future women in this position? Nettie S. Freed was the current state superintendent during this major transition. She was elected to this position but then was appointed by the board of education to remain in office as the new Commissioner of Education. She was replaced by the board in 1951 by J. Burton Vasche (List of Commissioners, 2007). No other woman had served in this

position since. Why did this happen? Was it because the voice was taken away from the voters and from women and now put in the hands of a board which is more than 50% male? More research could be done on this issue as this is a fascinating twist in the history of women leadership in Colorado.

Conclusion

After more than ten years in office, including a tenure that dealt with the consolidation of rural schools, a statewide standardization and Americanization plan, and the national crisis of a World War, Bradford continued to represent and lead her state into a successful and prosperous future. Her plan to standardize education for all students, increase the quality of schools by consolidating smaller schools into bigger and more efficient programs, her efforts to use the schools to help “Americanize” foreign immigrants to help them all become better United States citizens, and her consistent campaign to increase the quality of teachers while rewarding them with higher pay and better work environments, made her a successful educational leader in Colorado’s schools’ history. She received many honors throughout her life and she left a lasting legacy in this state.

CHAPTER V

BRADFORD'S LEGACY

Introduction

Bradford lived a long and eventful life. She left a legacy to women, children and the educational system in Colorado, the nation and world. She hailed from a prominent family on the East Coast and relocated to the West. Colorado, when Bradford and her family arrived, was still a growing territory. She lost her parents not long after moving to Colorado. Her husband died in 1901, she began her career as a school administrator. In 1902 she became the Adams County Superintendent and continued to work and be involved in the field of education until her death in 1938.

Looking at Bradford's life and career in this dissertation a pattern was clear. Like most people, her path in life was distinctly influenced by her upbringing, leading her to a life of service. This led her to various positions of power in the educational system of Colorado, each one leading to more important roles than the one before, giving her the ability to make changes, which brought more opportunity for women and children. Her activism in women's rights led to her involvement in the suffrage campaign. Her suffrage activity did not stop after Colorado women gained the right to vote in 1893; Bradford continued her involvement in the Colorado and national suffrage movement by campaigning, speaking, and writing about the positive impact of women's suffrage in her own state. The connections she made and the positive reputation she gained by her strong work ethic, her passion for fighting for the rights of women, her oratory and writing abilities, enabled Bradford to seek and gain higher positions of authority and

influence in her state and even the nation, being elected as president of the National Education Association in 1918 and serving as a member of various national organizations until a few years before her death in 1938. Her last position was her appointment as an honorary member of the National Council of Administrative Women in Education in 1934.

This chapter focuses on Bradford's legacy to Colorado. Her primary work throughout her life was in suffrage and education. She recognized her own efforts in her publications and she was honored by organizations, state officials, and the media for her contribution to the state. This chapter will bring this dissertation to a close with final thoughts on Bradford – some from her own pen and others through the honors and accolades she received.

Thoughts on Suffrage

In her publications, Bradford used her voice to share thoughts on the causes she was passionately involved in. Her work in suffrage included the involvement and incorporation of different women's clubs and organizations. In her earliest articles on the subject of women's suffrage (1893, 1903), she defended and fought for the women's right to vote. Her belief that suffrage was an important victory for the women of Colorado is evident in an article she wrote for the *Outlook*, shortly after the Colorado suffrage victory,

In the equal suffrage victory of Colorado the cause of political justice and human freedom has been advanced further than by any other event in the last twenty-five years of American political history. It has placed the women of Colorado upon a level of citizenship attained as yet by the women of but one other State in the Union. Both the men and women of Colorado have worked with the fervor of believers in a holy cause, and their faith in the power of its principles, their hope

for the Commonwealth, their love for humanity, have been justified. The vision of a Republic built upon a foundation of ideal political justice has become a reality for Colorado (1893, 1205).

Bradford believed the causes she fought for represented new opportunities for women and children. With the same right to vote as men, women could demand and vote for legislation that would improve their lives.

The issue of suffrage was a controversial one. Citizens across the country were afraid that women's traditional roles as daughters, wives and mothers, would be affected. From what she had seen in Colorado, Bradford knew that this was not the case and used her voice to share the positive aspects of suffrage in her state, making sure to let her audience know that women, even with this equal rights victory, were still feminine and responsible. In her 1903 article, published in *Pearson's Magazine*, a national publication, entitled, "How women vote in Colorado," she wrote in defense of this argument by using women involved in Colorado politics and clubs as an example,

All these women, leaders in their respective parties, are also well known in club, social, and philanthropic circles. They are all married, and the majority of them are mothers. Mrs. Grenfell's [Colorado State Superintendent] housekeeping is as justly celebrated as her successful conduct of the chief educational office of Colorado. Mrs. Ruble's [member of the Colorado House of Representatives] four children 'rise up and call her blessed.' Mrs. Walling [president of the Jane Jefferson Democratic Club] and Mrs. Thompson [vice-president of the Republican State Central Committee] are notable hostesses, while Mrs. Belford [Chairman of the Democratic Campaign Committee] is the sunshine of her young husband's family with whom she makes her home" (1903, 415).

Like the women in the article, Bradford was a wife and mother and remained involved in various activities that worked to improve the quality of life for women and children in Colorado. Bradford always wrote to an audience. In this early article, written in 1903, Bradford tried to convince her conservative audience, who was still unsure that women

needed the ballot, that women could vote and still be good wives and mothers. She used familiar names in this article to prove this point, showing her audience that these women could be involved in politics and still fulfill their traditional roles at home. Her goal was to advance the rights of women, particularly through the ballot, and in doing so she knew she had to gain the support of those opposed to this cause. She stated her purpose years later when she ran for Colorado State Superintendent of Public Instruction in 1912. In a pamphlet for that campaign, she wrote, “In the stormy year of ’93 I fought for the political enfranchisement of women, and I have been on the firing-line ever since, in all movements for the betterment of women and children” (Bradford, 1912b).

This statement gave credence to the purpose of this dissertation – that her life was dedicated to improving the lives of women and children. In the same pamphlet, she told the public about the issues that she believed in, including, an economy that will reduce the cost of living so that wage-earners could keep more of their pay for their living expenses, a work day that would still allow leisure time, an increase in salary for teachers, whom she called the, “army of soldiers of the common good to whose instruction we entrust our children in the public schools” (1912b). Her words were not solely for the purpose of education and its teachers, but also for the overall population. Bradford included numerous mentions of labor concerns throughout her life, stemming from her early work in the suffrage campaign, her work in women’s rights, and then as the leading education official in her state in 1912, she again was concerned for the wages of her teachers, a subject she continued to pursue through her different roles.

Years before, in 1902, even though she was living in Colorado, her original hometown paper of Brooklyn, New York, published an article about her influence in Colorado. The article, entitled, “Former Brooklyn society woman a leading Colorado politician explained Bradford’s political activities in Colorado. The article was written because of Bradford’s endorsement of Helen Grenfell as the Democratic candidate for the office of State Superintendent in 1902. The Arapahoe Women’s Democratic Campaign Club already had a favored candidate in mind, so when Bradford attended the meeting to support Grenfell, she was “ordered out of the office and the door locked” (*Brooklyn Eagle*, 1902, 36). This resulted in a separation of the Democratic club into two different organizations. The research shows that there was a previous split in 1893 but, with Bradford’s assistance, the party was united and nominated Bradford for the position of State Superintendent in the election of 1894. Almost ten years later, Bradford is again involved with another split of the party but this time helped cause the split rather than healing the split. Despite the division of the Democrats, Bradford’s candidate, Helen Grenfell won the election. The article compared Bradford to her father,

Hostilities have broken out anew in a woman’s political fight out in Colorado, which, as a curious study in heredity, would amuse any old Brooklynite who chanced to notice it: it is evidently a case of a daughter’s inheriting her father’s political ability; and while Colorado is the daughter’s sphere of action, the father’s was Brooklyn.

The father in the case was “Jim” Craig, who was the most prominent figure in Brooklyn politics a quarter of a century ago. And the daughter is Mrs. Mary Carroll Craig Bradford, who cuts as wide a swath as her petticoats will furnish in Colorado State politics, and has just won the election for the presidency of the Colorado State Federation of Women’s Clubs (*Brooklyn Eagle*, 1902, 36).

Like her father, Bradford also influenced her new home state of Colorado as described in this article,

Now, more than a quarter of a century later, Mary Craig Bradford wields as great an influence over the Democrats of her sex as ever the 'Kingmaker' did in his day over his fellows. It must be borne in mind that women can vote in Colorado. And how he would have smiled at the possibility of his daughter's being a political leader, and of her sex cutting any political ice. His home was the rendezvous of presidential candidates and the most prominent men of the day. Her home is the rendezvous of women who represent hundreds of voters, and plan their canvass as cleverly as ever Jim Craig planned his" (36).

Bradford's contribution to the suffrage movement in Colorado was an important part of her life. She worked for suffrage in the cities she lived in and the organizations she was a member of. She used her speaking and writing skills to share her opinion of what was going on in the state so that others would know the outcome of this suffrage victory. Since Colorado was one of the first states to give women full suffrage, it served as an example to others against or for suffrage in other states. Bradford's publications gave a testament to Colorado's success. Directly after suffrage was granted in 1893 she wrote about its positive outcome and she continued to write about this issue for over twenty years, publishing more results of this outcome in 1903, 1908, and 1912. Her suffrage activity led the way for her future involvement in education. She gained the respect of the people of the state of Colorado and became county, city and state superintendent, all roles which allowed her the ability to make changes for the children of Colorado – giving them more opportunity.

Thoughts on Education

As with suffrage, Bradford worked with other women to improve the quality of life for them and for their children through the passage of laws requiring better working

conditions and pay for women. In 1902, Bradford found another way to make change. In addition to her involvement in women's organizations, she became a school administrator, directly changing the education of children, giving them more opportunity. She was the school superintendent for Adams County for one term, located slightly northeast of Denver, and then, in 1909, became the city superintendent of Denver. In 1912 she was elected the sixth female Colorado State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

The next year, in 1913, she gave a speech at the NEA national conference entitled, "Education as the Interpretation of Life" (Bradford, 1913a). This speech provided another clear indication of Bradford's thoughts on the topic of education. She was committed to the children of Colorado through her roles as teacher, and local superintendents, but in this publication, she shared her definition of education, which showed her belief in all aspects of the community coming together to educate children. She wrote,

It has been well said that almost all the battles of the world have been fought for the sake of so soulless a difference as that lying between conflicting definitions.

And yet there is reason in this strenuous advocacy of one or another kind of definition, for, if we may define a definition, it may be done in some such phrase as the following: A definition is a condensation in words of a principle, a thought, or a movement. It is, or should be, the verbal expression of essential truth.

When we concede this, it is not strange that the leaders of thought in the school world have long been seeking a definition of education that should be at once exact and expressive; that might contain the divine fire of educational inspiration in a form both logical and lucid. As a result, there have been almost as many definitions of education as there are distinguished leaders of educational thought, and, tho not ranking myself in that goodly company, perhaps, I may be pardoned if I venture to give the definition of the august science and beautiful art, in whose

service we are all enlisted, that has proved most helpful to me (Bradford, 1913a, 70).

Bradford then gave her definition, “To my thinking, education is the interpretation of life in the terms of truth, beauty, efficiency, and service” (70).

In this definition, Bradford relayed much of what she had worked so hard for in suffrage and education in order to improve the quality of life for women and children. In fact, Bradford admitted in the article that this definition should not only apply to schooling, “To confine it merely to the classroom problems is to limit and emasculate a vital philosophy, to cut off the power and purpose of a great profession from vivifying the life of the home and the community” (70). Throughout Bradford’s career as an educator, she stressed the relationship between school, home and the community. She believed that they should work together to provide a well rounded education for children and that education should not only be in the classroom, but in all areas of a child’s life. Here again, in this article, she stated this philosophy.

Bradford, as a public servant, believed that relationships work together to make more opportunities for citizens. The school, home, and community were all components needed to make a citizen successful. This meant that a citizen who spoke the English language, supported the nation and understood its mission and values, participated in government, and participated in their civic responsibilities, was a productive citizen. All of these life lessons were taught in the schools in classes such as Citizenship, Geography, History, Patriotism, and English. She believed that the public school played an important role in this process and stated this in a speech she gave entitled, “Education as the Interpretation of Life,” written in 1913,

To the present writer, civilization is revealed in human institutions, of the highest ideal, the best self of any given citizenship, at any given time.

Civilization of this type is largely the creation of government, which last is nothing less than the science and art of living together in organized communities so that righteousness will prevail. The public school is the child of the government. Therefore, the public school exists for the making of citizens (Bradford, 1913a, 200).

As leader of the Colorado public schools for twelve years, Bradford used her office and the schools to help make more productive and useful citizens. The biennial reports and in the new curriculum, published in 1918, demonstrates this goal. A focus in the new curriculum was on History, Civics, and Citizenship. Bradford said about these subjects,

History is the story of the struggle of humanity to conquer and develop nature and to conquer and develop itself.

The study of Civics is linked to community life and suggests training for community activities.

The course in Citizenship is so planned as to stimulate in the child his self-conscious relation to society and the sense of personal obligation toward his city, state, and nation (1918a, 2).

Bradford had a sense of civic responsibility. Her life and career were spent serving her community, state and nation. She dedicated her time by volunteering and leading other women to the cause of suffrage, improving the quality of their lives, and eventually was given positions of authority over the schools that allowed her to oversee and make changes that improved the educational experiences for children, giving them more opportunity.

She used different avenues to accomplish her goals in women's rights, education, and civic responsibility. She used her voice through her publications, joined clubs to help spread important messages to other women, and called upon the family and the

community to help her improve the school experience for young people. She validated her efforts in her 1913 article, “Social unity is the prerequisite to social regeneration, and the surest way to effect the social transformation is to realize actual co-operation between the home, the school, the club, the labor union, and the newspaper; treating all these interpretations of life as educational agencies and uniting them in the service of truth...” (1913a, 71). These words reinforced Bradford’s life-long intention to make change for others, providing them with better opportunity. In the above article, Bradford wrote about the use of different agencies to make education a success, the school, home, community, and the media and throughout her life she incorporated this same belief into her activities, using the help of other women, organizations, the community, the media, the schools, and politicians, to make improvements in the lives of others.

Conclusion

On Thursday, November 16, 1933, the state of Colorado honored Bradford with a dedication of a tree planted on the grounds of the state capitol. The 40 year old willow tree was a symbol for the appreciation that the state felt for Bradford and her dedication to everyone in the state of Colorado. The Jane Jefferson Democratic Club helped to organize the ceremony. Many people attended the ceremony including the former and current Governors of the state and a state senator. They recognized her for her political and civic contributions to Denver and the state. They recognized her as being the first woman in Colorado being nominated for a state constitutional office when she ran for state superintendent in 1894 and the first woman delegate to a national convention in 1908. One hundred years later, in 2008 at the Democratic National Convention held in

Denver, Colorado, she was recognized as being the only female voting delegate on the floor of the 1908 convention (*Rocky Mountain News*, August 28, 2008). She was called the “war president” of the NEA and the fifth state president of the state federation of women’s clubs. She was called by the local media a “leader of the campaign of woman suffrage” (*Rocky Mountain News*, November 17, 1933).

Bradford continued to be active in state and national affairs after she left the office of state superintendent in 1927 until her death in 1938. During her life she held many different and positions in the community and in government. In 1911, while superintendent of Denver County she was appointed delegate to the Transmississippi Commercial Congress and worked to promote the “adoption of a resolution providing for an Atlantic-to-Pacific highway,” which was dedicated to the memory of Abraham Lincoln, because he was an advocate for a highway that connected both coasts (*Denver Times*, October 20, 1911). In 1913, this idea began to grow as officials in the automotive industry established the Lincoln Highway Association. Eventually a route was chosen and the highway built and in 1938 was recognized for its completion and noted for being a paved road, better than gravel (Hokanson, 1988). Bradford was involved in the early stages of this monumental event.

According to the newspapers, she was ill before her death but was apparently recovering and getting better. She received word of a close friend’s death, Mrs. Alice Clark McCormack, who was her assistant while she was State Superintendent, and the papers report that it was this shock that quickened her passing which occurred on January 15, 1938, at her home on 1776 Williams Street in Denver, “With the shock of

the announcement, she relinquished her hold on life and met death in a peaceful sleep” (*Denver Post*, January 15, 1938). A local newspaper in Brighton, Colorado, located in Adams County where Bradford once served as Superintendent, admired her background from the East saying, “With such a background as hers it was not a little strange to find this daughter of aristocrats entering with lively enthusiasm into social and state politics and club work” (*Brighton Blade*, January 18, 1938). This statement showed how the local Colorado media was not surprised to see Bradford or other women like her involved in public life. Another article (*Denver Post*, January 15, 1938) said about her lineage, “she brought with her a family lineage and social prestige seldom equaled in the West.”

Bradford’s memory and legacy was important to Colorado. Different short biographies have been written over the years and numerous newspaper articles have given tribute to her accomplishments. One history book written on the History of Colorado in 1918 described Bradford,

Most devoted to the interests of her home, in which her activities centered to the time of her husband’s death, Mrs. Bradford then entered upon a very different field of labor and the same qualities that made her a thorough student in her college days and a wise mother in the rearing of her children constituted her a most forceful factor in the schoolroom and upon the lecture platform, while her powers of organization have been manifest in the direction of the educational interests of the state and nation. She attacks everything with a contagious enthusiasm, is a speaker of magnetic power and at the same time her utterances are based upon a broad general information and are the outcome of logical deductions (Stone, 1918, 784).

Her love of family and her background, gave her the strength and courage to speak up for women and demand equal rights. She organized a state campaign to abolish illiteracy in Colorado and fought for the right for all people to have an education. Her work was

important and France honored her with the election of a position on the Academe Society of International History and she was included among other female leaders of the world in an international review (*Denver Post*, January 15, 1938). More on this could not be found.

She sat on numerous committees and served on many boards. She was known as one of the best orators of the suffrage movement. In January 1897, she spoke at the NAWSA convention held in Des Moines, Iowa. One of Bradford's best speaking qualities was that she could relate to women and she used her words to persuade her audience towards suffrage. At this convention, she directed her words towards men and women and said, about her personal voting experience, "The first time I went to vote I was out of the house just nine minutes. The second time I took my little girl along to school, stopped in to vote, and then went down town and did my marketing; and I was gone twenty minutes" (Anthony & Harper, 1969, 283). She directed her words towards the male audience, "When women obtained the ballot they wanted to know about public affairs, and do they asked their husbands at home (every woman wants to believe that her husband knows everything), and the husbands had to inform themselves in order to answer their wives' questions. Equal suffrage has not only educated women and elevated the primaries, but it has given back to the State the services of her best men..." (283). Two different newspapers reported on Bradford's participation and representation of Colorado at this convention. They reported on Colorado's motive, as stated by Bradford, "The work in that state, where women now have the franchise, is to make it a success. Education must be done among the women, and they must be trained to interest

themselves in the use of the ballot” (*The San Francisco Call*, January 27, 1897; *The Salt Lake Herald*, January 27, 1897).

In February 1900, she again spoke at the national convention, held in Washington D.C., reassuring her audience that woman’s suffrage would not destroy the home. Her speech was entitled “The Social Transformation” of the home. She said, “I wish I could make you all understand that the home is not touched. Equal suffrage did not mean destruction or disintegration but the radiation of the home of the home – carrying it out into the wider life of the community” and then said, “It is the home transforming the State, not the State destroying the home.” She continued and discussed the affects of children, “We have more intelligent homes because of equal suffrage. Where children see their father and mother go to the polls together, and hear them talk over public questions, and occasionally express different views, they learn tolerance” (1969, 356).

Along with her many travels to different states, one source reported that at one time she was involved in a lawsuit fighting for the schools of Colorado to own rights to some of the state’s silver and coal mines, and from that incident she earned the name “the silver-tongued orator” (Delta Kappa Gamma, 1940, 1). She was known for her suffrage work although one source said she did not like to be called a “suffragette” (1). In Britain, suffrage supporters were called suffragettes. The suffragettes were involved in more aggressive suffrage efforts than in America. Alice Paul had gone to Britain and was involved in the mass demonstrations held there and jailed for her involvement. She participated in hunger strikes and was force fed while in jail. She, along with her friend

Lucy Burns, returned to the United States and brought back some of the aggressive tactics used in Britain, such as organizing rallies and parades, which ultimately helped to secure national suffrage (Evans, 1989; Mead, 2004). This British behavior was considered negative by traditional American suffragists, like Bradford, hence the term suffragette had a bad connotation and American women like Bradford considered themselves suffragists rather than suffragettes.

Bradford had many accomplishments in her life that affected many people. How would she have felt knowing her body would lie in state in the rotunda of the state capitol upon her death? Even after she was gone the state paid tribute to her in a very deserving manner as her influence was immeasurable over her sixty years as a Colorado resident. She had been given an honorary doctorate by Denver University in 1914. The tree, the degree, the written tributes were all proof that this woman, Mary Carroll Craig Bradford, made an impact on the state of Colorado.

This dissertation focused on Bradford's dedication to improving the lives of women and children in Colorado providing them with more opportunity. Through her work in suffrage and education both in Colorado and nationally, many more citizens were affected by her actions. Her work in women's rights, especially suffrage, her advocacy for women and children, including adult literacy, the improvement of the schools, her many roles as representative on committees and boards proved her efforts to make a difference.

The thought of the researcher before conducting the research was that Bradford was someone special. The actual results of the research prove this theory to be true. She

was special and had a way of comforting and reassuring those who she spoke to in the suffrage campaign or those who worked for her in the schools. A letter found during the early stages of research, in the *Colorado School Journal*, made the researcher think that Bradford was different from other educators or administrators. This letter was written during her first year as state superintendent. The teacher examinations had originally been made and graded by the county superintendents but now were being made by the office of state superintendent and the same office wanted to take the grading away from the county superintendent and have all exams graded in the state superintendent's office. This made the exams equal across the state. Bradford's letter, to the teachers of Colorado, was written to convince them to take the new state examination and to prove their achievement. She said,

Now, dear teachers, because I believe in you, because I feel for you the most tender friendship and the deepest reverence for the great task you have undertaken, because I believe that you are the keeper of the keys to the kingdom of the new day when men and women shall be equal to the great demands of life, I ask you to take this examination in a spirit of earnest consecration, bending every effort of body, mind and soul to make it the sign of splendid achievement.

With the deepest appreciation of your service to the Commonwealth, I am

Faithfully your friend,

Mary C.C. Bradford

State Superintendent of Public Instruction

(*Colorado School Journal*, 1913c, 11).

These words, written to the teachers of Colorado was supportive and caring, giving testament to Bradford's character. However, this research has concluded that all that she did was not necessarily to be nice and good to the people. Yes, she was a caring woman, but she was also a politician. She was extremely smart and used her intelligence and words to convince citizens to support the suffrage movement and convinced officials in

power to support education in her state. All of her speeches, publications, and superintendent reports give credence to this. In each article, speech or report, she had an audience that she tried to reach. Whether it was conservative men and women, afraid of the ballot or how the right to vote would change the home or society, she used her own successes as a wife and mother to reassure them that changing their mind would not morally deteriorate their current situation. When she needed more money or resources for the schools of Colorado, she wrote and spoke directly to those who had the power to make the changes. She attended national suffrage and education conventions and used her words to convince people from across the nation to support what she believed in – women's and children's rights. All of her efforts, whether personal or political, were for the betterment of women and children.

I find it hard to imagine, living today, how she must have felt, living all those years ago, fighting for her rights and the rights of other women, to live and work and vote, just like men. She pleaded for years for a salary commensurate with other elected officials but never received the acknowledgement of her hard work through an increase in pay. Still she continued to run for election for many years despite this discrepancy, knowing she had more power and influence in her position to change the lives of women and children even though she did not receive personal gain.

She accomplished much in her life and she received numerous honors and tributes rewarding and acknowledging her special contribution to the state of Colorado. These honors meant a great deal to Bradford but there was one special tribute paid to her by the children of Colorado. They used her initials M.C.C.B. and created the statement,

“Mary, Colorado Children’s Blessing.” She counted this as her highest honor (*Colorado School Journal* 1920, 7). Bradford’s legacy to her family, the women and children of Colorado and to the others she directly or indirectly affected, was all that she accomplished in her life that made a positive impact on the lives of others. Her writings, her programs, her speeches, her travels, her nurturing, and her leadership, provide testament to her life and the opportunities she helped to create for others. She was a blessing to many.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY

Introduction

The purpose of this dissertation was to show how Bradford contributed to the lives of Colorado's women and children through her work in suffrage and education. This research showed that through her efforts and roles in both suffrage and education, she did indeed improve lives through legislation and programs she continued and initiated in her role as State Superintendent. Throughout this study, many examples were given to show evidence of her actions and the results that ensued. This final chapter will explain the significance of this study to the field of Education and History and will end with suggestions for further research.

Significance of This Study

In 2005, Burlbaw et. al, conducted a comprehensive study on the field of "Female Chief State School Officers." The study looked at every state in the country and found out when women were put into the highest educational position in their state. The study confirmed that only four states gained suffrage in the West before 1900. Colorado was one of them, and Colorado was only one of five states that have had more than six females hold the office of state superintendent. Colorado was one of only three states in which women held this office for over fifty years – Colorado women had this office for fifty-one years (2005, 161). Burlbaw et. al., wrote their article to fill a lack of research on women superintendents in this country. As stated in Chapter I, research has been done on several female county superintendents (Blount, 1998) and a few on female state

superintendents (D'Easum, 1981, Cottrell) but none have been published on a female Colorado State Superintendent. This dissertation was written to add to the research done on this field.

The research questions in this dissertation were not just chosen to find out more about Bradford. They were chosen to find out the reasons behind her actions. The first question, "Who was Bradford?" has been answered in this dissertation and in articles and brief biographies written about her life, that have been documented in previous chapters. She was a daughter, wife, mother, suffragist, and educator. Most of the sources written about Bradford stated these basic facts but did not explain why she did what she did and how each of her roles led to the next, allowing her to help make changes to the lives of women and children of Colorado.

The second question asked in this dissertation, "How did her life shape her career and her career shape her life?" is appropriate because her life and career were intertwined. She came from and was raised from a family of public servants. She spent her whole life following the same mission – helping others. Her life and upbringing made her who she was. The third question, "What did she contribute to the suffrage movement?" is related to the second question because her involvement in the suffrage movement was another instance of her life and career joining together. Her first political activism was in the local women's clubs, of which she belonged, in some cases founded, and she then became active in the suffrage movement.

Her main contribution was her speaking and writing skills. She used these skills to speak directly to an audience. Whether the audience was pro-suffrage or conservative

members of society who were not sure if they wanted women to have the right to vote and worried that women would lose their traditional place in the home, Bradford spoke directly to them and gave them personal examples of success. She used other successful women as examples to prove her point that a woman could still be a good wife and mother even though she had the right to express her views through the ballot. She spoke to anti-suffragists and to many different audiences across the country and discussed the positive aspects of suffrage including, the election of more qualified and dignified candidates and the improvement in the civility of the polling places. The leading suffrage leaders called upon Bradford many times to share her success stories with those in other states that were looking for Colorado as an example of what the ballot would do. Bradford contributed much to the suffrage movement in this country and has been recognized many times in two volumes of the "History of Woman Suffrage," and in various other publications.

The fourth question, "What did she contribute to education?" is also related to the other questions because her involvement in education gave her the most power to make change. She was an educator and spent many years of her life as a county, city, and state superintendent, the last of which gave her the most power to make change. She furthered initiatives already started (consolidation of rural schools), and began new programs on her own, such as her plan to standardize and Americanize Colorado schools. Her role in the suffrage movement and in her success in the schools systems of Colorado made her a well known name, locally, statewide, and across the nation.

She had a reputation as an excellent speaker and writer, and motivated others to make change with her. She motivated other women to join clubs, fight for their rights, and to cast their ballot on election day. She motivated her county superintendents and her teachers to perform to the highest standards possible, providing an excellent education to the children of Colorado. All of her efforts documented in this dissertation prove that Bradford spent her life working to provide better opportunities for women and children, a goal she herself stated as she ran for election in 1912, “I fought for the political enfranchisement of women, and I have been on the firing line ever since, in all movements for the betterment of women and children.” (Bradford 1912b, 6).

The last question, “What was Bradford’s legacy to the state of Colorado and the nation?” Bradford’s legacy is physically seen in books, newspapers, superintendent reports, magazines, journals, etc. but much of what she accomplished is not seen. We cannot see the specific men and women she helped to convert in Colorado and across the country, but we know she had some influence. Because of her influence, some support was gained towards this movement. More famous leaders like Susan B. Anthony and Carrie Chapman Catt receive the most recognition for the suffrage victory, but they alone were not responsible for the 19th Amendment. They had thousands of people along the way that helped them with this win. Bradford was one of them and her legacy is the people she influenced during this movement.

As an educator, her legacy stands in the schools and students. She helped to consolidate and improve schools. She changed the curriculum, improved the quality of the teaching force by improving teachers exams and certification, and she visited most of

the schools in her state to show her support of each teacher, administrator, and student. Her legacy cannot be blatantly seen but it is there. She and the other women who served fifty-six continuous years as state superintendent were now being recognized for their contributions, in this dissertation and in other studies on the same topic. One part of Bradford's legacy is this dissertation. Her efforts were important to the suffrage movement and to education and are officially being recognized through this research.

Suggestions for Further Research

As stated above, the research done in 2005 by Burlbaw et al., contributed to the field of educational history and on the topic female state school officers and paved the way for more research to be done on these women. They wrote, "The purpose of the project was to prepare a map of the terrain so that scholars, including others who are not currently involved in this research, have a place to begin their explorations into the lives and work of female Chief State School Officers" (161-162). Their study looked at all states and the women who served in the highest educational positions across the country, while this dissertation focused on Colorado, a state that had one of the earliest suffrage victories and had more women in the state superintendent office for a longer length of time than most other states.

There were many more areas to research that would enhance the research done by Tyack, Burlbaw et al., and other educational historians. First, research could be done on the other Western states that had an early and extended female presence in this field, including Montana, and Wyoming. Both, along with Colorado had women in this office for over 50 years. Second, research on the women who had this position in various states

could be done. Where did these women come from? How long were they in office? What was their legacy? All questions that would explain more about these women and what they accomplished with the power they were given. Third, a topic that needs to be answered and was not addressed in this dissertation is the outcome of the office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction in Colorado, once it went from being an elected position to an appointed one. Once this happened, women were no longer in this position and have not resumed this position since this happened in 1951. A question to be asked is, “Was this a good decision for Colorado?” This dissertation found that the female superintendents before, during, and after Bradford’s terms, wanted this change. It would be interesting to know if there was regret after this happened.

Conclusion

This dissertation has added to the field of Education and to the field of History, as it gave a deeper look into the life of a woman who lived in the past. Her life was not different or better than anyone else, but she did serve as example of what women were doing in her day and what women could do with their relationships and with their own talents. Bradford had many relationships, familial, personal, and professional and each of these contributed to her successes. She was very close to becoming a wealthy woman, had her husband’s invention been recognized, but he died before this could happen, leaving her to support the family. Not only did she take care of her children, she dedicated her life to helping others. Her intentions were not simply done out of the goodness of her heart, she had an agenda. Bradford had beliefs and she used her skills as a public speaker and writer to share these thoughts with those in her audience. Bradford,

a Democrat, used these skills to support her party and to sway others towards the Democratic agenda. Interestingly, her husband was not a Democrat, which she admits in a speech she gave at the national suffrage convention in 1895. An article reported about Bradford's speech, "It was claimed, she said, that women will vote with their husbands. She had not voted with her spouse. He was a Republican of the died-in-the-wool order [sic], while she is a Democrat. There is something decidedly unique about sitting with a life partner at the table who is diametrically opposed to one in political faith. It is the spice and variety of life." (*The Salt Lake Herald*, May 14, 1895). She received applause for her statement. This statement is one of many examples of how Bradford used her real life experiences to prove her point. In this case, her point was that she was a strong woman, with her own ideas, even though they were different than her husbands, and that alone was acceptable and provided what she called the "spice and variety of life."

Bradford's life was filled with spice and variety. She is not an exception but she is an example of what one woman could do, given her hard work and determination – providing opportunities for others, especially to the women and children of Colorado.

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APPENDIX A

BRADFORD'S PUBLICATIONS

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APPENDIX B
PICTURES OF BRADFORD



This image comes from the George Grantham Bain Collection which represents one of America's earliest news picture agencies. The collection richly documents sports events, theater, celebrities, crime, strikes, disasters, political activities including the woman suffrage campaign, conventions and public celebrations. The photographs Bain produced and gathered for distribution through his news service were worldwide in their coverage, but there be a special emphasis on life in New York City. The bulk of the collection dates from the 1900s to the mid-1920s, but scattered images can be found as early as the 1860s and as late as the 1930s. (*Library of Congress*)



Mary C.C. Bradford (1908), one of the first female delegates to the Democratic National Convention, was a Colorado suffragist and women's rights activist who later became state education superintendent. Courtesy of the Colorado Historical Society.

APPENDIX C

TIMELINE OF BRADFORD'S LIFE

Year	Events
1856	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First report of Mary C.C. Bradford's birth • Husband Edward's birthday reported as 12/2/1848 • Edward Bradford graduated from Annapolis in 1869. <i>Denver times</i> 12/26/1901
1862	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Second report of Bradford's birth
1870	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1870 census lists Bradford's age as 13. (Lists brother Joseph C. as 11)
1872	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educated at the Packer Collegiate Institute in Brooklyn Heights, New York
1876	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Craig-Bradford Wedding: Church of the Pilgrims, Brooklyn, NY 1/26/1876
1878	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Moved to Leadville, CO.
1879	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bradford's father died
1881	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Book review on "William Black" (Christian Union, 6/15/1881) • Book review on "Thomas Hardy" (CU 6/22/81). • Book review for "Blackmore" (CU 7/6/1881). • Book review for "Farjeon" (CU 7/13/81) • Book review for "Miss Thackeray's stories" CU 9/21/81.
1882	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Book review for "Frances Hodgson Burnett" CU 2/16/82) • Book review for "Swinburne As a Critic" CU 8/17/82
1883	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anna Carroll Craig dies in Leadville, Co. (<i>Brooklyn Eagle</i>, 2/11/1883)
1890	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bradford moved to Colorado Springs • Auditor for the non-partisan Colorado Equal Suffrage Organization (Brown)
1893	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Picture on front cover of "Business Woman's Magazine" Caption reads: Mary C.C. Bradford: National Organizer, Business Woman's National League; February 1893 • Organized Colorado Springs Equal Suffrage Organization and was president. This organization was absorbed into the Colorado Equal Suffrage Association. • Bradford moved to Denver in late 1893 (Getz p. 57). • Published article in the <i>Outlook</i> "the Equal Suffrage Victory in Colorado" 12/23/1893.

- 1894
 - Ran for State Superintendent against Peavey, nominated by the Democratic Party.
 - Joined the Clio Club in Denver RMN 1/16/38
 - Founder of Woman's Club of Denver in 1894; RMN 1/16/38
 - State Organizer for the National Democratic Committee (only straight Democratic group in CO.) Stone 1918
- 1895
 - Founder of the Colorado Federation of Women's Clubs
- 1896
 - Named to the board of the State Home and Industrial School for Girls (Brown)
- 1899
 - Woman's Suffrage Association – Bradford listed as member of the National executive committee 3/10/99
 - Listed as club and social leader of the West: Sunday Republican 2/26/99
- 1900
 - Attended a convention with leading suffragists: Susan B. Anthony, Harriet Stanton Black, and Carrie Chapman Catt. Bradford and these other woman all spoke to convention. NYT or *Denver Times* 2/13/1900
 - 1900 census lists Bradford as 43
- 1901
 - Member of Colorado Suffrage Association. Was on a committee to meet and entertain Susan B. Anthony and Catt in Denver. Helped with the "Seeing Denver" trip. *Denver Times* 5/10/1901
 - Auditor and member of the national executive committee of the Colorado Suffrage Association; was a delegate to the national convention; *Denver Republican* 3/24/01.
 - Edward Taylor Bradford dies at 49yrs. 12/25/1901; NYT 12/25/01 & 12/26/01
 - Elected president of the National Woman's Suffrage Association; *Denver Post* 1/15/1938
 - Getz reports Bradford taught school in Denver until her election as Adams County super.
 - Founded and organized the Why Club
- 1902
 - Organized the Jane Jefferson Democratic Club of Colorado and served as president for 8 years RMN 1/16/38
 - On Democratic Ticket for "Regents State University" NYT 9/12/1902 & 10/19/02
 - End of 1902 was Adams County Superintendent until beginning of 1905.
 - Colorado Woman's Association executive board member & delegate to the national convention; *Denver Republican* 1/21/02

- Bradford's daughter Adele "elocutionist" spoke at North Denver Woman's Club 3/4/02)?
- President of Colorado Federation of Women's Clubs 1902-1904. RMN 1/16/38
- 1903
 - Adams County Superintendent
 - Article: "How Woman vote in Colorado;" *Pearson's Magazine*; v. 9, issue 4, April 1903
 - President of the Colorado State Federation of Women's Clubs
 - Member of the Democratic State Central Committee of Colorado
 - Governor appointed Bradford to member of commission of State Travelling Library (Getz 58)
- 1904
 - Adams County Superintendent
- 1905
 - End of Adams County Superintendent in early 1905.
 - Attended convention of the "National Business Women's League" held at the Hotel Endicott in NYC.
 - On Board of Directors for Business Woman's League of the City of NYC NYT 8/16/1905
- 1908
 - Attended the Democratic National convention in Denver
 - Chosen as a voting delegate for presidential candidate W.J. Bryan at the Democratic State Convention in Glenwood Springs, C O. She was the Denver rep. 6/17/1908. NYT
 - Published: "Equal Suffrage in Colorado, from 1893-1908"
 - CSJ – certifications w/out exams, exam guidelines, h.s. certs.
- 1909
 - County superintendent of schools in county and city of Denver (Jan 1909-June 1912).
- 1910
 - Census lists Bradford's age as 48
 - CSJ – Teacher and pupil reading circles (under cook and Grenfell)
- 1911
 - First woman to was appointed a delegate to the Transmississippi Commercial Congress; *Denver Times* 10/20/1911
- 1912
 - Elected to first term as State Superintendent 1912-1914.
 - Published: Equal Suffrage in Colorado 1908-1912
 - She published a candidate plea in "A short visit with Colorado Democratic State Candidates" in 1912
- 1913
 - Reading Circle Article (v. 29; CSJ 1913, p. 7
 - Article: The making of exam questions (CSJ v. 29; 1913; p. 10
 - Letter to teachers (CSJ 1913, v. 29, 11)

- Published “Education as the Interpretation of Life” NEA speech (general session)
 - NEA speech: “The Heart of the Educational Problem”(Philadelphia)
 - Was president of the Jane Jefferson Democratic Club until 1921 (Getz)
- 1914
- Publishes revised edition of “A Course of Study for Public Schools of Colorado”
 - Elected to 2nd term as state superintendent (1914-1916).
 - Attended a massive suffrage meeting held at Carnegie hall in NYC (NYT 11/7/1914).
 - Received Honorary doctorate of Literature from University of Colorado NYT 1/16/38
 - CSJ – letter from MCCB on course of study, war and schools
- 1915
- NEA speech: “Some Adjustments that Might Secure Closer Integration: The Kindergarten and the Elementary School.”
 - Elected as VP of NEA in California meeting RMN 8/20/1915
- 1916
- Publishes “A Course of Study for the Public Schools of CO” (revised edition)
 - Elected to 3rd term as state superintendent (1916-1918).
 - 7/2/1916 NYT; Bradford attended NEA meeting in NYC
 - Nominated as VP of NEA, RMN 7/7/1916.
 - Appointed to NEA Committee that has as its object, “the improvement of the race thru improvement of home conditions/ Detroit meeting/ RMN 2/29/1916.
- 1917
- Attended the 49th convention of the National Woman Suffrage Association. NYT 12/10/1917.
 - NEA publication: “The Public School and the Nation in 1917” & “Some Phases of the Rural-school Problem”
 - July 1917 elected as president of NEA/ Stone 1918 p. 783
- 1918
- Publishes “A War-modified Course of Study for the Public Schools of Colorado” (5 volumes).
 - Elected to 4th term as state superintendent (1918-1920).
 - Endorsed a nationwide campaign for intelligent patriotism (The independent 2/16/1918)
 - President of the National Education Association
 - As president of NEA she urges teachers to support students enrolling students into the Junior Red cross. NYT 2/11/1918

- Offered the position of city superintendent of schools in Washington, DC; RMN 1/16/38.
- 1919 • Signed petition to ratify the amendment of the Versailles Treaty of Peace with Germany NYT 9/15/1919
- CSJ – “Americanization Plank”
- 1920 • On advisory board for “The Fathers and Mothers League” NYT 5/9/1920
- 1920 census lists Bradford as 60
- Mentioned for post as secretary of education; *Denver Times* 2/23/1920.
- CSJ – letter from MCCB to teachers
- CSJ – letter from Newton (super) on Americanization
- 1921 • CSJ - Letter highlighting Bradford’s retirement and highlighting her accomplishments (she comes back into office in 2 years...)
- 1922 • Elected to 5th term as state superintendent (1922-1924)
- 1924 • Elected to 6th term as state superintendent (1924-1926)
- Served as chair on the “Committee of One Hundred on Classroom Teachers’ Problems” Getz p. 61
- 1925 • Bradford considered for appointment by President Coolidge as member of the US Civil Service Commission, RMN 9/17/1925
- Elected director of World Federation of Education Associations in Edinburgh, Scotland. RMN 7/28/1925.
- 1926 • Appointed to the advisory committee on the World Educational Conference in San Francisco.
- Elected as delegate to the World Conference of Women in April 1926.
- Member of the Historical Research committee of the Woman’s Universal Alliance? March 1926.
- 1927 • Breakfast held in honor of Bradford at the Cosmopolitan Hotel in Denver (Hosted by 3 of Bradford’s clubs: The Why Club, The Denver Woman’s Press Club and the Administrative Woman).
- 1929 • Appointed to Committee No. 1 of the World Federation of Education Associations & reappointed for 3rd time as delegate for same organization, this year meeting in Geneva. RMN 4/4/29.
- 1930 • 1930 census lists Bradford’s age as 73
- 1933 • 40 year old willow tree on capitol grounds dedicated to Bradford, RMN 11/15/1933.

- 1934
 - Honorary member of the National Council of Administrative Women in Education (select group of NEA) RMN 4/29/1934
- 1938
 - Death: January 15th in Denver, CO

VITA

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EDUCATION

- | | |
|---------------|--|
| December 2009 | Ph.D., Curriculum and Instruction
Specialization: History of Education, <i>Texas A&M University</i> |
| May 2005 | M.Ed., Curriculum and Instruction
Specialization: Social Studies, <i>Texas A&M University</i> |
| May 2000 | B.S, Interdisciplinary Studies
Specialization: Reading, <i>Texas A&M University – Commerce</i> |

EMPLOYMENT

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| 2004-2009 | Assistant Lecturer, Student Learning Center
Texas A&M University, College Station |
| 2003-2004 | 3 rd Grade Teacher, Fannin Elementary School
Bryan, Texas |
| 2000-2002 | 3 rd & 6 th Grade Teacher, St. Joseph School
Bryan, Texas |

PRESENTATIONS

(October 2009) Caldwell, Heather K., Sourdöt, Ludovic. “Top 10 Steps for Selecting, Surviving, and Thriving in Completing a Graduate Degree.” Accepted for presentation at the Kappa Delta Pi International Conference, Orlando, FL.

(September 2008) Caldwell, Heather K. “Opportunity Through Education: Mary C.C. Bradford.” Accepted for presentation at the Organization for Educational Historian Conference, Chicago, IL .

(April 2008) Caldwell, Heather K. “Mary Carroll Craig Bradford: A Biographical Dissertation of Colorado Children’s Blessing.” Presented at the American Education Research Association’s Annual Conference, New York.